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- ART. I.—1. *Examen critique de la Histoire de la Géographie du nouveau Continent.* HUMBOLDT. Paris.
2. *Ancient America in Notes on American Archæology.* By JNO. D. BALDWIN. New York.
3. *Historical and Geographical Notes on the Earliest Discoveries in America, 1453–1530.* By HENRY STEVENS, G. M. B., M. A., etc. 1869.
4. *Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique.* Par M. BRASSEUR de BOURBOURG. Paris. 1868.

“RECENTLY vast stores of material of American history have been brought to light. Old books and maps have turned up. Bibliography has become an exact science. Documents are scrutinized anew as they never were before. New historical books have been written, old ones revived, annotated, edited, and reproduced, to such an extent that half an American historian’s labor, before he begins his narrative, consists in clearing away the rubbish of his predecessors, and in reconciling conflicting authorities.”\*

These remarks are applicable to the history of the old

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\* Stevens’ *Notes*, p. 8.

world as well as the new ; but, in either case, the labors of the modern historian have as yet far from exhausted the existing known materials, and he may look forward to more labor with those which are likely to be added. The craving for true and exact history remains unsatisfied. History, of one kind or other, we have in abundance, and it is pouring forth from the press daily ; but when we find writers disputing over events which have occurred in their own time, we may be excused from placing implicit reliance on their statements respecting those events which occurred ages ago.

Nevertheless, considerable light has been thrown upon the early history of this continent by the researches of modern investigators. Conspicuous among the latter is the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who has extracted from the ancient Mexican records an elaborate narrative of the rise and extension of the primitive communities and kingdoms of Central America—an outline of which was given in the *National Quarterly* some time back.\* It is to be hoped that some equally learned and indefatigable investigator will do the same with the ancient Peruvian records, as M. de Bourbourg has done with the Mexican. And the remote history of the so-called Indian tribes of this continent is a field of inquiry as yet only partially investigated. It is true that the United States Government, many years ago, employed Dr. Henry R. Schoolcraft to make researches in this direction, but the result has certainly been inadequate, considering the time and labor which that gentleman devoted to the subject, although his reports fill six bulky folio volumes.

The explorations of European navigators prior to Columbus are another very interesting field of research as yet unexhausted ; but of late years some of the most eminent scientists have devoted considerable attention to it, and some very curious charts of the Atlantic coasts of this continent have been brought to general notice, fac-similes of which are given in Mr. Stevens' work. These specimens of mediæval art are

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\* *Successive Conquests and Races of Ancient Mexico*. *National Quarterly Review*, No. XXXVI, March, 1869.



also interesting as showing the condition of geographical knowledge, generally, in those days. It has hitherto been too much the fashion to begin with Columbus in treating of the history of America, as though there had been no navigators before him. But it may be doubted whether he would have done what he did had it not been for the previous attempts and failures of others. At all events, it is beginning to be now generally recognized, that the discovery of this continent dates back to a very remote period—far beyond even that of the Northmen, who came over here from Iceland at the beginning of the eleventh century. Even from distant China, in ancient times, came rumors of the existence of a great country beyond the Pacific, and these must have reached Europe in the course of the centuries during which traffic was open between Seres\* or Sinae, the Hindoos, the Arabs, and the Romans. It is known that the ancient Chinese recognized the American continent under the name of Fou Sang, a fact which has not been followed up, as regards Chinese intercourse therewith, as it might have been.† A closer examination of the Chinese records and literature might produce other allusions to this continent, and perhaps some intimations of communication with it. And if this be the case with China, *à fortiori* it is likely to be so with the records and literature of Japan, on account of the greater proximity of the latter country to our western shores, and also because it is possible for a ship to sail thence to any part of the American coast, east or west, *without losing sight of land*—a fact which we do not remember to have seen dwelt upon. If it be objected that there are six thousand miles of ocean between San Francisco and Yokohama, and that the ancient Japanese were not sufficiently skilful mariners to venture far to sea, out of sight of any landmark, we reply that they might cross over by taking the circuitous route of their own coasts to the Kurile Islands, and,

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\* Pliny speaks of the Seres and their silks. Lib. xxxiv. c. 14, and vi. c. 17.

† But see De Guignes in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. Vol. xxviii. p. 503, and De Paravey's *L'Amerique sous le nom de Pays de Fou Sang*. Paris, 1844.

past them, to Kamtschatka, thence to Behring Strait and Alaska, and so down our Pacific coast to South America, without losing sight of land all the way. And we have little doubt that this was done, although as yet no record of the exploit has been found. At all events, there is nothing improbable, or unreasonable, in the supposition that such a thing was done, and done more than once, too. In this way we may readily account for the existence of races on this continent like the Mound-builders, entirely distinct from the red men of the forest, improperly called Indians; and for the civilization, arts, and sciences of Mexico, before the Spanish conquest. The great Tartar warrior Kublai Khan, after he had subdued China (A. D. 1280), fitted out an expedition against Japan. It consisted of four thousand vessels, according to the accounts of Japanese,\* and the ships were filled with the bravest and best warriors of Mongolia, Corea, and China; but they were dispersed near the Pescaderes, or the Pang-Hoo islands, in the channel of Formosa, in lat. 23° 30' north, and long. 119° 30' east of Greenwich, by violent storms; many of them were wrecked on the islands and on the coast of Formosa, many were driven out to sea and not heard of again, and the remainder returned to China. Is it improbable that some of these ships found their way across to the shores of Oregon or California? At all events it is somewhat singular that the first appearance of the Algonquins in these regions, a race of warriors until that time unknown to the natives, occurred about the time of Kublai's expedition (A. D. 1283), and they commenced their march westward soon after. They spoke a language unknown to the western tribes of red men, but akin to that of the Iroquois, who came of the same ancestors, and made their first appearance in the northwestern portion of this continent about the same time. These Algonquins, as the natives called them, advanced to the Mississippi, carrying on a fierce struggle with the Appalachian tribes, and if the surmise be correct that they were Mongolians and Chinese, it is possible that they were the constructors of the mounds and earth fortifi-

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\* Gutzlaff's *Sketch of Chinese History*, Vol. i. p 382.

cations found in the Ohio Valley, and other places in the west. And this idea receives confirmation from the circumstance that the age of the trees found growing on the mounds (as counted by the rings in the stems) is between 500 and 600 years, which would carry back the time of their planting to this very period. The war was a long and bloody one—it was, in fact, one of extermination. The Algonquins fought their way northward, and, in conjunction with the Iroquois, drove the Appalachians and their allies—some of whom were *white* men—into Tennessee and Kentucky, and destroyed them there in such numbers as to obtain for the latter State the name of “the dark and bloody ground.”\* From that time down to the time of the colonization of it by the Americans and Europeans, no tribe of red men ever permanently dwelt there, the Cherokees and the Creeks, in particular, holding the very soil in abhorrence.

The war between the Algonquins and the Appalachian and Alleghany tribes seems never to have ceased until quite modern times. On the first settlement of the country by Europeans, the tribes of the Iroquois and the Lenne-Lenapes were at war with the Cherokees, Muscogeas, and the Southern Alleghany tribes in Carolina, who were, in their turn, hemming in the Tuscaroras, a branch of the Iroquois, with whom they subsequently (in the eighteenth century) united, and became one of the “six nations,” in 1712. The Iroquois also took the Meherrins or Tutelas under their protection, and it is most probable that many other of the kindred tribes, of whom we find no particular account, retired westwardly in like manner, and were incorporated into one or other of the western tribes.†

To return to the question as to how far the old world was acquainted with the new, before the time of Columbus, Humboldt gives a summary of what was thought and believed by the ancients;‡ but they do not appear to have had

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\* Alluded to in the article on Mexico, in *National Quarterly Review*. No. XXXVI, March, 1869.

† Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 156.   ‡ *Cosmos*, Vol. ii, pp. 63–99.

any positive knowledge of the existence of the American continent; their ideas were speculations and surmises, not the least notable of them being that there was an underside to the world—an *antichthon*; and it was a subject of dispute among the early fathers of the Christian Church whether paradise was situated in the East or in the *Antichthon*.<sup>\*</sup> With this, however, we are no further concerned at present than to show by it that the wise men of Europe, Asia, and Africa, did not know anything about America, but that they surmised there might be an inhabitable country at their antipodes. The only exception to these surmises may be that as to the existence of Atlantis, an island in the Atlantic, whose inhabitants in ancient times made war on the Athenians.<sup>†</sup> But the myth is so involved in mystery that it will not serve us as a guide.

M. de Bourbourg, however, believes that in deciphering the Mexican hieroglyphics, he has discovered the true meaning of the fable of Atlantis, and the hidden meaning of the sacred books of that nation. In his *Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique*, he argues at great length that the continent of America once extended very far to the East, even to the Azores, and that in those days there was constant communication with Africa, Europe, and this continent; hence the legend of Atlantis has a historical basis. Moreover, he finds in the Mexican theology the same myths and fables which are contained in the Greek and the Egyptian.<sup>‡</sup> The whole of that portion of our continent, over which now roll the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean (between the windward West India Islands and the Azores) was, according to him, submerged after a series of hideous eruptions of volcanos, earthquakes and whirlwinds, in which the greater portion of the inhabitants perished, a few only being saved in Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti and Porto Rico, which were previously the summits of lofty mountain ranges, as individual smaller West India Islands were summits of single

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<sup>\*</sup> *Cosmos*.    <sup>†</sup> Plato, *Timæus*.    Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Vol. i, pp. 156-166.

<sup>‡</sup> See particularly his fourth Letter.

mountains, but which became islands when the continent on which they stood sank. He further contends that America formerly extended far to the West, into the Pacific, and was at one time within an easy distance of Eastern Asia, the Polynesian Islands being the remains of its mountain ranges. As changes are, and always have been, going on all over the earth's surface, some portions of its crust rising and others sinking, there is nothing improbable in M. de Bourbourg's theory; but whether he has established it as corroborated by recorded facts must be left to those learned in Mexican lore to decide. If this theory be correct, it raises the question—not now mooted for the first time—whether, in fact, the commonly received order of things ought not to be reversed, and this continent be recognized as the old world, and Asia as the new. The name of the first Asiatic man was Adam, which signifies "red earth"; was he of the same race as the primeval red men of this continent?

The statement made by Rafu, the Limerick trader (so called from his residing at Limerick, in Ireland), in his account of Are Marson's voyage to this continent in the year 983, will, if it can be relied on, prove that there had long been intercourse between Ireland and the coasts of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; so much so, indeed, that that portion of our continent was named by the northmen *Irland it mikla*, or Great Ireland. Rafu says that Are Marson, a powerful Iceland chieftain, was driven thither by storms, and there *baptized*. Another account states that Are was recognized there, and not allowed to return to Iceland, but was held in high respect in Florida. These people, most probably, were Irish Christians, settled there previously, how long cannot now be ascertained: "They wore white dresses, used iron implements, and had poles borne before them, on which were fastened lappets, and who shouted with a loud voice."\*

Sixteen years afterwards, the Norwegian, Gudleif Gudlangson, trading with Dublin, was driven by adverse winds to the coast of Florida, where he met with a countryman of his,

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\* *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. xxxvii.

named Biörn Asbrandson, who had been driven thither also by storms many years before, and had become a chieftain of authority among the natives.\* In the year 1121, Eric, bishop of Greenland, went over to Massachusetts (then called Vinland), thus showing that intercourse was still kept up between these countries.† In 1266 an expedition for the exploration of the Arctic regions was fitted out by the clergy of Greenland, and the regions explored in recent times by Parry, Ross, Franklin, Kane, and others, were examined.‡ And in 1285, two Iceland clergymen, Adalbrand and Thorwald Helgason, discovered Newfoundland.§ In 1347 a ship sailed from Greenland to Nova Scotia, then called Marteland, to bring back timber. The record of this voyage is presented in the archives of the Royal Historical Society of Copenhagen, translated from the Icelandic into Latin.||

The foregoing details have been briefly noticed, to show that North America, or at all events its western shores, were known to, and frequently visited by the Northmen of Iceland and Norway, and by the Irish. We now come to the question, What was known and what can now be known of the state of the continent in those early times and prior to the so-called discovery of it by Columbus? And in considering this question we shall omit Mexico, because a continuous sketch of the history and social and political condition of that ancient empire has already been given in the National Quarterly.¶

What became of the Irish Christians of Florida? Did they die out? or were they exterminated by the natives? or did they intermarry with the latter and become absorbed by the more numerous race? No answer can be given to any one of these questions. Not a vestige of their habitations or monuments, if they had any, has ever been found. The Northmen who visited them say they spoke the Irish language, and were Christians, but they took no root in the land, and passed away

\* *Antiquitates Americanae*.

† *Ibid*, p. xxxviii.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. xxxviii-ix.

§ *Ibid*, p. ix.

|| *Ibid*.

¶ *Successive Conquests and Ruces of Ancient Mexico*. National Quarterly Review, No. XXXVI, March, 1869.

as completely as though they had never existed. What vestiges have been left of the Northmen who visited Virginia, Massachusetts, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia? Perhaps a few inscriptions, cut with iron implements upon rocks in unknown or doubtful characters, and hieroglyphics. Respecting these inscriptions, it may be observed that the Indians were ignorant of their existence, and also of the art of working with iron. They learned both from the English after the settlement of the country by the latter. The meaning of the inscriptions is matter of conjecture, and it is by no means certain that they were cut by the Northmen, although some antiquaries and learned men, who have closely examined them, have thought they had discovered Runic characters in them; while others have thought them to be of Phœnician origin. This was especially the case with the inscription on the block of granite found at the mouth of the river Taunton,\* Massachusetts.

The truth is, however, that no satisfactory explanation of the history and meaning of these inscriptions has been given, and conjectures, however plausible, cannot be accepted as evidence. They are not much more authentic than the famous stone submitted by Mr. Pickwick to the Pickwick Club, with its mystic inscription, which was at first thought to be Roman, but on closer examination turned out to be cockney English. The wide extent of country in which these inscription rocks have been found is a strong argument *against* their being of Norse origin. They have been discovered in Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Georgia, Kentucky, and Western Pennsylvania, the two last-named States being too far inland to have been reached by the Northmen; the latter never claimed to have done more than explore the western coasts and the Arctic regions.

The discovery of a quantity of copper coins at Medford, Mass., in 1787, is another piece of evidence that that portion of the country had been visited by foreigners. The coins were found concealed under a flat stone, and were in quantity about two quarts. They bore no similitude to any known

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\* Yates & Moulton. *Hist. of State of New York*, p. 86.

coins, nor could any work on numismatics throw light on their origin, though some Russian coins contain a figure resembling one that appeared on the face of them. The way in which our continent has been settled, the ruthless destruction of forests, the reckless clearing out of natural obstacles, the blasting of rocks, the digging of quarries, the building of houses, bridges, wharves, the cutting of roads and excavating for railroads, all with a view to immediate profit, have caused many objects of interest to the historian and the archaeologist to disappear. This has been particularly the case in Rhode Island. Mr. Webb, secretary to the Rhode Island Historical Society, in a letter to the Royal Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, dated 30th November, 1834, says: "In our former communication we stated that an Inscription Rock was said to have been on Gardiner's Point, and also one in Tiverton. I have marked a spot with India ink on the chart at each of those places in reference to the tradition, although none such have been found by us. The one in Tiverton, we have marked near Howland's Ferry Bridge, because we apprehend that this *shared the fate common to all rocks in that vicinity for some distance round*, when the last bridge was built at that place in 1809, which was constructed by *dropping immense quantities of stones of all dimensions into the water* till a rampart was raised above the surface of the highest side. The water here at the lowest tide is fifty-one feet." \*

This wholesale appropriation of the materials nearest at hand for building purposes has not been peculiar to the people of Rhode Island. It has prevailed wherever men of European extraction have settled, and at the present day no American engineer, in laying out a railroad or canal, would hesitate a moment to cut through any one of the great mounds of Ohio if it lay in his way; no "venerable oaks" are safe from the axe of the woodman or the builder; nor are ancient intramural cemeteries respected when it is desired to lay out a new street. The sentiment of veneration for antiquity has yet to take root in the American character.

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\* *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 372.



Dr. Schoolcraft believed that traces of Prince Madoc's expedition to this continent had been found near Wheeling in Western Virginia. Madoc was a son of Owen Gwyneth, a king of Wales. In the year 1170, he made a voyage across the Atlantic with a number of followers, and founded a colony somewhere on this continent. He seems to have been so well satisfied with the locality that he returned to Wales for more colonists, and persuaded ten ship-loads of his countrymen to accompany him to his new settlement here. They sailed from Wales and were never heard of more. "The story of Madoc," says Schoolcraft,\* "is an almost unexampled problem in American history, having never been scrutinized by the lights of philology, and the careful investigation of the monuments of distinctive intrusion, which exist. That the ancient Celtic character has been found in Western Virginia, appears incontestable. These evidences were first announced in 1838." A small, thin, flat, oval stone was discovered bearing on it characters of an apparently alphabetical value. The discovery was communicated to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, of Copenhagen, in 1841, and Professor Rask was disposed to think it of Celtiberian origin.† It was thought by the Romans that the British tribe of the Silures, who inhabited South Wales, were descendants of the Iberians of Spain.‡ But notwithstanding the positive manner in which Dr. Schoolcraft speaks of the discovery of Celtic characters on the stone alluded to, the evidence which he adduces in support of it is but slight.§ There was a large oak standing on the top of the mound within which the stone was found. The cortical layers of this oak were counted in order to ascertain its age, but there was serious disagreement as to the number, Mr. Clemens estimating them at 300,|| and Mr. Tomlinson at 500.¶ This is a point of great importance, making all the difference between the year 1338 and 1538, which latter date is 46 years

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\* Schoolcraft's *Ethnological Researches*, Vol. v. p 34.

† *Vide* the Society's *Memoirs*, 1840, 1843, p 135.

‡ Tacitus.

§ *Ethnol. Res.*, Vol. i. p 120.

|| *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. i.

¶ *Am. Pioneer*, p. 199.

after the discovery of the continent by Columbus. We say *discovery*, but it is a mere *façon de parler*, for Columbus did not, properly speaking, *discover* America; he *stumbled upon it* in his search for a western route to India. But neither number carries the date back to 1170.

Nor is it clear that the Scandinavians considered America a new continent, or that they verified any geographical theory by their bold voyages. It is certain that their primitive maps of the bays of New York, Delaware, and Chesapeake, as published at Copenhagen, bear a name that is translated *Great Island*. Their exploits attracted attention at home, and the fame of them reached other parts of Europe. It is known, moreover, that Columbus himself had been attracted by them, and that he visited Iceland for the purpose of verifying what he had heard, and increasing the sum of facts on which his theory was based. We applaud him because he meant to make a discovery, and not for his accidental finding of this continent. The reason for giving it the name of "Great Island" has been already stated. The aborigines seem to have no other name for it than "the Great Island," and their prevalent tradition was that it rose out of the "big waters," or ocean; also that plants and animals were created before man; and that after the creation of the first human tribe, "the Eagwehoeve people," some of them became giants. In their traditions there are many points of resemblance to Genesis; and the ancient Zoroastrian doctrine, of a good principle and an evil one ruling the world, but in perpetual antagonism to each other, was also held by them. Probably this was the natural and unavoidable belief of all nations which had not attained to any high intellectual development. They would perceive the existence of good and evil, but, being unable to explain why evil should exist in defiance of the good principle, they concluded that it must be coequal and coeternal with its antagonist.

There are other religious features which prevail among some of the Indian tribes that indicate their Asiatic origin. Such is the practice of cutting their arms and legs to denote sorrow for the dead, as was customary among the Phœnicians

and Carthagenians, the Canaanites and Syrians. Then there was the worship of the sun, though this was but faintly developed among the northern tribes. It prevailed chiefly among the Mexicans, the Toltecs, and the Aztecs, and in Central and South America. The red men of the forest were believers in the immortality of the soul and its reunion with the body; they also believed that their favorite animals would be with them in the happy hunting-grounds of the next world. And, like the Hindoos and Chinese, they worshipped the spirits of their ancestors, placed cakes on their graves, and, like the Greeks, poured out libations. A Hebraic origin has been attributed to the aborigines of America, according to the theory which derives all mankind from the descendants of Noah, specified in the tenth chapter of Genesis. And the attempt has been made to establish this origin by tracing out resemblances to the Hebrews, in the sound, orthography, and definition of words in the aboriginal languages, but it does not appear that these resemblances are sufficient to be conclusive evidence on the point. This Hebraic theory is as yet in a conjectural state.\*

Having now examined all the traditions of the ante-Columbian visits of foreigners to this country, we will turn to the Indians themselves, in order to ascertain what their condition was at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, and what traces remain of their ancient history. The latter task is one resembling the process known as "looking for a needle in a haystack," but the search after truth is its own reward to the inquiring mind. At the close of the fifteenth century, this continent was inhabited by the Mexicans, south of the Rio Grande, who were ruled by the conquering Aztecs; the empire of the latter extending into California and Arizona. Over the northern portion of the continent, from the Rio Grande to the Arctic regions, roved wild tribes of red men, who subsisted mainly by hunting. It is a mistake to suppose that they were

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\* The subject of the religion of the red men was fully treated in an article in the *National Quarterly Review*, No. XIII, June, 1863, under the heading, "Theology of the American Indians."

all settled communities, in the civilized sense of the term. When a tribe had exhausted one hunting-ground, they removed to another, and if they encountered another tribe bent on the same errand, they fought until one or the other was exterminated or driven away. And although we meet with chiefs who called themselves kings, as Powhattan did in Virginia, and Massasoit in Massachusetts, their governing power was a rope of sand, obeyed only by their "braves" or camp-followers when it suited them.

There was a great variety of tribes. Every great valley, lake, or mountain-range had its separate tribe, although the languages they spoke, when closely examined, proved them to be only dialects of a few parent stocks. In all the range of the North Atlantic, there were not over three or four generic stocks, and apparently not more than seven in the entire area east of the Mississippi. These were the Algonquins, Iroquois, Appalachians, Cherokees, Utchees, and Natchez or Chigantualguas.\* The Algonquins and their affiliated tribes occupied the littoral districts from the St. Lawrence to Pamlico Sound, but of these tribes which extended over the Carolinas, not a soul is now known to be living. The first English and French settlers found Algonquin tribes around the lakes, on the banks of the Illinois and Wabash, and as far as the mouth of the Ohio. Into this great Algonquin circle a group of tribes speaking a different language intruded themselves shortly before the settlement of the Dutch on Manhattan Island. They called themselves Iroquois and "the Five Nations" (afterwards six by admitting the Tuscaroras among them) and took possession of Western New York. They at first cultivated maize, but, being supplied by the Dutch with fire-arms, they extended their possessions as far west as the Illinois, and as far north as Montreal. Their origin, before alluded to as possibly Mongolian, is uncertain; they have affinity with the Wyandots of the West, and with some of the New Mexico and Utah tribes.

West of the Mississippi were the Sioux or Dakota tribes,

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\* Schoolcraft, *Introductory*, pt. VI, p. 31.

embracing the Iowas, Omahas, Otoes, Missouris, Osages, Kansas, Quappas and the circle of the prairie tribes. In the South were the Utechees, the Muscogees or Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, inhabiting the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida. This group had come from the west and driven out the prior occupants, who were of the Algonquin and Iroquois groups. The Seminoles occupied Florida; the Choctaws occupied the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and the lands thence to the Mississippi. The Cherokees inhabited a secluded territory lying at the end of the Appalachian chain, but not extending to the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, or the Mississippi; and at this period the Cumberland river was called the Cherokee. The Natchez occupied a position on the Mississippi, from the Red River to the Yazoo; they were descendants of the Toltecs; north of them were the Chickasaws, in Tennessee and Kentucky; but the latter was a neutral war-ground, and was subsequently occupied by the Shawnees, an Algonquin tribe.

The Algonquins, before the Spanish conquest, were the most powerful and numerous race of red men on the Northern Continent. They were divided into many tribes and spread over what are now the Middle and New England States, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. They included the Shawnees, Kaskaskias, Illinois, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Miamies, Kelistenos, Crees, Blackfeet, Blood Indians, Mushkeags, and kindred tribes. But there was no confederation among them, and they frequently made war on each other. Hence they fell before the more vigorous and better organized tribes of the Iroquois, who were the most remarkable of all the red men of America.

The Iroquois or Five Nations (as their name denotes) formed a vast confederacy, without any superiority of one nation over another. "This Union," says Colden,\* "has continued so long that the Christians know nothing of the origin of it." The first English and Dutch explorers found it exist-

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\* *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, p. 1.

ing, as did the first French settlers in Canada. The Five Nations composing it were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. Each of these nations was an absolute republic in itself, governed by its sachems or old men, who, in fact, held no other authority than what was based upon the respect and confidence of the people. They could not enforce any decree. The leaders in war were similarly situated: they were obeyed only so long as their followers had confidence in them.\* Yet we find this confederacy so solid and so well administered, that the neighboring nations submitted and paid tribute to it. The Iroquois were so terrible in war, that the Algonquins and other red tribes of the south would flee at hearing the very name of "Mohawk." They were the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, but were very polite and skilful negotiators, and had a high reputation for hospitality. They were fixed to the soil, and did not change their hunting-grounds as the Algonquins did. It has been remarked that there was a strong resemblance in the principle of the Iroquois confederacy to the Grecian Amphyctionic Council,† and some have even surmised that at a remote period the Greeks had communication with this Continent. Father Charlevoix, a learned Jesuit, who visited New France (Canada) in the middle of the 17th century, says the Iroquois language is mingled with Greek roots: but he seems to think that the Huron language was the root of all the Iroquois dialects: ‡

" Il s'en faut bien que la langue Huronne s'étende aussi loin que l'Algonquine; ce qui vient sans doute de ce que les peuples qui la parlent ont toujours été moins errans que les Algonquins. Je dis la langue Huronne pour me conformer au sentiment le plus communément reçu; car quelques uns soutiennent encore que c'est l'Iroquoise qui est la matrice. Quoiqu'il en soit, tous les sauvages qui sont au sud du fleuve Saint Laurent, depuis la rivière du Sorel, jusqu'à l'extrémité du Lac Érié, et même assez proche de la Virginie, appartiennent à cette langue, et quiconque scait le Huron les entend tous."

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\* *Hist. of Five Ind. Nations*, p. 2.

† *Ethnol. Res.* Pt. 3, p. 183.

‡ *Journal d'un Voyage, etc.*, Vol. 3, p. 189.

From this it may be inferred that the Hurons are the primitive stock of the Canadian red men. Be that as it may, the Iroquois confederacy was so powerful that the French maintained their occupation of Canada with great difficulty against it. The English had the tact to gain the friendship of the Iroquois by offering them facilities for commerce, and were thus enabled ultimately to supplant the French. It is a remarkable fact that these so-called "savage Indians" respected woman, and gave her her proper place in society. They admitted matrons to their public councils, and allowed them to exercise a veto on the question of war, and to interpose to bring about peace.

To such a pitch of power had the Iroquois confederacy reached at the time of the discovery of New York, in 1609, that there can be little doubt that if the arrival of the Europeans had been delayed a century later it would have absorbed all the tribes situated between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Ohio, if not to the gulf of Mexico.\* In 1603, when the French explored Canada, they found the Iroquois at war with the Adirondacks; the latter had the best of the struggle for some time, but at length they were overcome, driven out of their own country, and forced to settle where Quebec now stands.†

Reverting for a moment to the assertion of Father Charlevoix, that there are Greek roots in the Iroquois language, it may be as well to quote what Mr. Colden says on the subject. He was commissioner from England to the Five Nations in the time of George II., and became familiar with their history, customs, and languages. He says :

"I have not met with any one who understands their language, and also knows anything of grammar, or of the learned languages. Their present minister tells me that their verbs are varied, but in a manner so different from the Greek or Latin that he cannot discover by what rule it was done, and even suspects that every verb has a peculiar mode. They have but few radical words, but they compound their words without end. . . . They have no labials in their language, nor can they pronounce perfectly any word wherein there is

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\* *Ethn. Res.*, Pt 3., p. 196.

† Colden, p. 23.

a labial. . . . Their language abounds with gutturals and strong aspirations, . . . and their speeches abound with metaphor, after the manner of the Eastern nations."\*

These linguistic facts point to an Asiatic origin of the race. This subject was fully discussed in this journal not long since† and need not be further dwelt on now.

One of the most difficult problems connected with the state of North America before the Spanish conquest is the making an approximately correct estimate of the population of the continent. As regards the so called Indians or red men of the forest, there are no written data to base any calculation upon. But as the great majority of the tribes lived by hunting, and as that mode of subsistence does not admit of density of population, but, on the contrary, necessitates the devoting of large tracts of land to the use of a few persons, it is probable that the population had reached its limit, and did not increase; the tribes frequently changed their hunting-grounds, and were constantly at war with each other, two facts which militate against the idea of there being numerous inhabitants. "The rate of reproduction is so small among tribes who live by hunting, and the causes of depopulation so great, that until the period of their colonization, neither to increase nor decrease, but barely to keep up their numbers, is the most favorable view that can be presented."‡

In a survey of two hundred years, so far as facts can be gleaned, many of the bands and sub-tribes have most rapidly declined, and yet a greater number have become entirely extinct. The policy of pursuing the chase is so destructive to human life, and so subversive of every principle of increase and prosperity, that it is amazing that the Indians themselves have not perceived it. But when this fatal delusion is coupled with the policy of petty, predatory, tribal warfare, as it has been for all the period we have been in proximity to them, it is only wonderful that of the tribes who were in North America

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\* *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, p. 25.

† No. XLVII, Dec. 1871, Art. vii, "*Extinct Races of America—the Mound-builders.*"

‡ *Ethn. Res.*, Pt. 2, p. 8.



in 1600 there is a descendant left to recount their history. Assuming, however, the most favorable hypothesis, viz., that, on the whole, the population of native race had remained stationary since the time of Columbus until driven westward by the European colonists; and further assuming that the proportion of souls to the square mile was about the same as may still be found in those territories where Indian tribes still roam, Dakota, Nebraska, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and other Western districts, a rough guess may still be made as to the total population of the portion of the continent north of the Rio Grande at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards.

The total area of the vast region comprised in the United States and British America is about 6,700,000 square miles, of which, however, a very large proportion is uninhabitable, especially in the far North and Labrador; and a considerable deduction must be made for the area occupied by lakes, rivers, forests, mountain ranges, and deserts. It is not hazarding much to say that at least 2,000,000 square miles are untenable by man, or, as in the case of Labrador and the Arctic regions, by families very thinly scattered, as the Esquimaux are. In 1847 it was estimated\* that the population of the Indian tribes in the whole of the United States was about 400,000, and as the area of the States exclusive of Alaska is in round numbers 3,200,000 square miles, this would give an average of only one soul to eight square miles; but this is not the system on which the calculation should be based. It was found that since the war of Independence the number of deaths in a tribe exceeded the births by nearly 78,000 in a period of 87 years; this was, however, partly owing to the advance and encroachment of the whites upon the Indian hunting-grounds. But there were, in 1847, territories which had not then been encroached upon to any great extent, viz., Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, and Utah, which, it was estimated, contained 182,000 Indians. The area of these States is in round numbers 900,000 square miles, which would give about one inhabitant to five square miles, and if we

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\* Schoolcraft, *Report*, pt. 2, p. 8.

suppose this rule held good in 1492, as regards the whole of the northern portion of the continent—that is to say, from the Rio Grande to the Arctic regions—it would give an estimate of something under a million of persons of Indian race at that period.

But this estimate requires correction, if, instead of supposing the population to have remained stationary, we suppose it to have steadily declined in the ratio of 77,000 out of 206,000 in each period of 87 years. A simple rule-of-three sum will make the correction. As 206:940 (the exact amounts)::77:194,000—the total amount of the decrease of the entire population in 87 years. Therefore in 1760 the population was 1,134,000. Applying the same process to the preceding 87 years, we shall find that in 1673 the entire population was 1,558,000; in 1576 it was 2,140,000; and in 1499 it was 2,940,000. This might be carried out *ad absurdum*; the reader can choose between the stationary theory and the retrogressive; but we may suggest in favor of the latter, that the numerous burial and fortification mounds, and other remains of antiquity still to be seen in various parts of the United States go far towards proving that this continent was once, at some remote period, much more densely peopled than it was at the time John Cabot discovered it. The accounts of the condition of Mexico, Central and South America, given by the historians of the Spanish Conquest, show that the population of those regions was much greater then than it is even at the present day. "The great name of Columbus," says Horace Greeley,\* "is indelibly soiled and stained by his undeniable and conspicuous implication in the enslavement of the aborigines of this continent, so improperly termed 'Indians.' Within two years after his great discovery, before he had set foot on the continent, he was concerned in seizing some scores of natives, carrying them to Spain, and selling them there as slaves. His example was extensively followed. The fierce lust for gold, which inflamed the early adventurers on his track, incited the most reckless, shameless disregard of the rights and hap-

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\* *American Conflict*, Vol. 1, p. 27.

piness of a *harmless and guileless people*, whose very helplessness should have been their defence. Forced to hunt incessantly for gold, and to minister in every way to the imperious appetites of their stranger tyrants, they found in speedy death their only relief from intolerable suffering. *In a few years but a miserable remnant remained.*" This extinction of the native races by the advent of Europeans appears to be a law of nature, as the same result has been observed in all parts of the world, wherever a strong race settles by the side of a weak one. It has been so on this continent, and the few remaining tribes of the red race are being rapidly "improved off" of its surface.

Mr. Greeley, however, was mistaken in his estimate of the moral qualities of the Indians. The Peruvians may have been "a harmless and guileless people," though even that is doubtful, seeing that they were addicted to human sacrifices. But all the accounts we have of the natives of ancient Mexico and of the northern continent describe them as cruel, treacherous, bloodthirsty, and licentious, constantly at war with their neighbors and among themselves. And this is the normal condition of all tribes of men who subsist chiefly by hunting; it was so with the ancient Scythians, and those of the middle ages; and when their numbers increased so as to trench on the means of subsistence, they raided on their neighbors, precisely as the red Indians did in the days when they first became known to us, and as they do now whenever they get a chance.

The traditions of the red men of America throw very little light on their origin. From the nature of some of them, we are inclined to adopt the theory that the most remarkable of them are borrowed from a more ancient race of men who had attained to a certain degree of civilization. Thus among the North American Indians there prevails a tradition of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michabon, Chiabo, Manaboza, Taren yawagon,

and Hiawatha.\* But if such a personage ever existed and taught what he is alleged to have done, it is clear that either the Indians were not the people he taught or that they have long since forgotten his teachings, since beyond the fabrication of mats, moccasins, pipes and a few other articles, by hand, they have no notion of "the arts of peace," nor is it known that they ever undertook to clear a forest. As for building a house there is no trace of such a stroke of genius in their history. We are speaking now of Indians in their natural condition when left to themselves, and not of the few who have, under the auspices of American institutions, been located on "reservations" and taught some of the elements of civilization. Let the war-club, paint, tomahawk, and scalping-knife testify as to what the red race is in its natural state. When the North American Indians were first encountered by European settlers, the use of these implements of savage warfare had been traditional among them from time immemorial.

That these red men were the conquerors of a civilized race who flourished on this Continent long ages ago has been rendered certain by the discovery of the remains of an ancient city of vast extent on the site where now stands the city of Lexington, Kentucky. Some of these ruins, noticed by Ashe, the traveller, in 1806, were carefully examined by Professor C. S. Rafinesque, of Transylvania University, in 1820, and described by him in an article in the *Western Review*.† But there was no great interest excited at the time by these researches, and it is only within the last few years that anything like scientific investigation has been directed to the vast erections of the ancient Mound-builders. They were not Indians, for no Indian nation has ever built walled cities, with stone walls and defended by entrenchments, or ever buried their dead in sepulchres hewn in the solid rock, as was the practice among the race which has so completely disappeared. How many centuries have elapsed since the last survivors of them passed away will probably never be known. They left no lit-

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\* Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 134. *Indian Tribes*, pt. III, p. 314. † For 1820, p. 53.

erature behind them, and so their very name is forgotten. Not a fragment of their history or their language remains. They have vanished like a dream. Hector and Achilles, though mere barbarians, live because sung by Homer. Germanicus lives, as the historian himself said, because narrated by Tacitus; but these builders of mounds perish because no Homer and no Tacitus has told of them. It is the spirit only, which, by the pen, can build immortal monuments.

Roger Williams, Dr. Boudinot, and others maintained the theory that the Indians of North America migrated from Asia; that the once noble (?) race, which has almost melted away, was descended from the ten tribes of Israel, which were driven from Palestine seven hundred years before the Christian era. But this is only theory, and the advent of the Indians and the stock from which they sprung will probably remain an unsettled problem: but that they came here subsequently to the Mound-builders is certain. The appearance of the Indians was the death-knell of that doomed race whose rich and beautiful lands and spoil-gorged cities inflamed the desperate and destitute invaders. The numerous tumuli which yet remain attest the fierceness of the conflict which ensued. A great people were swept out of existence; their cities disappeared; the grass grew above them, and in time the canebrakes and the forests. Out of all this vast extent of conquered territory, the Indians selected a portion as a hunting-ground, and called it "Kan-tuckee," because it had been in truth to them "a dark and bloody ground." It was a shadow land to the Indians. In 1800 some Sacs, who were in St. Louis, said of Kentucky that it was full of the souls of a strange race which their people had long ago exterminated. They regarded this land with superstitious awe. Here they hunted and here they fought, but no tribe was ever known to settle permanently in it. And while they hunted and roamed, and paddled here their bark canoes, unknown centuries rolled away.\*

But the same fate to which the red men had consigned the Mound-builders is in waiting for themselves. Its approach was

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\* Ranch, *History of Lexington, Kentucky*, p. 14.

heralded by the landing of Columbus on American soil, and its actual advent came with Cortez. Three hundred and fifty years have rolled away since that event, and the disappearance of the Indians has been steadily progressing. The end is a mere question of time, and no one can seriously doubt that in less than a century it will be a matter of difficulty to find a pure-blooded "Indian" on this continent. Will this be a matter for regret? Certainly not, for a more useless race of men never existed, and this characteristic is sufficient of itself to refute the theory of their descent from the highly-gifted Hebrews, who could boast of sages, prophets, warriors, poets, musicians, and skilled artisans, when the ancestors of the civilized nations of Europe were naked savages.

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- ART. II.—1. *A Short View of Tragedy; its original excellency and corruption: with some reflections on Shakespeare and other Practitioners for the Stage.* RYMER. 1693.
2. *The Ground of Criticism in Tragedy.* DRYDEN. 1679.
3. *Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare.* P. WHALLEY. 1748.
4. *Letters on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare.* J. DENNIS. 1712.

FROM the twilight of English literary history loom four colossal and tremendous spectres, typically masters in the drama, in lyric poetry, in theology, and in philosophy—Shakespeare, Spencer, Hooker, and Bacon. Not only did these four men foreshadow the future of English literature and English scientific and religious thought, they determined the future—its peculiar bent, its literary and philosophical currents—being themselves determined by the century they represented

Four Atlases they, who carried four worlds of thought on their shoulders.

The popular conception of Shakespeare, the least known biographically of the four colossi, the best known intellectually, is that of a tremendous spider-brain cunningly ensconced in a human head, and, without progress, with little culture and less education, instinctively spinning, from abundant and abnormal inner consciousness, wierd webs of drama and poetry. "He was," say they, "a man indifferent to reputation and to the opinion of his contemporaries, producing, because it was in him and he must—a sun shooting athwart the sky at midnight."

Ignoring accenulated evidences, documents in the record office, and other data, these panegyrists and panderers to a popular ideal paint a poet who, lacking both in culture and in opportunities for observation, by virtue of an almost supernatural insight, mastered all problems, solved all difficulties, penetrated all mysteries. "He owed nothing to art and learning," says the Shakespeare-mad. "Natural inspiration," runs the myth "is responsible for those splendid masterpieces of of invention in which critics have professed to find vestiges of the deepest philosophy, of the most acute biological investigation, of perfect insight into the laws of poetry in all its forms, of exact study of nature and of man."

How far this is true will appear presently, for it is proposed, in this paper, to apply the ordinary rules of induction to the literary biography of the creator of Hamlet—himself the Hamlet of his field, every monad-man having a dash of the Hamlet about him—and so to arrange the known and leading facts of his life as to indicate that evolution and progress were ruling elements in his career—that he grew—developed—was what he was partly by life-dream and native bent, partly by operation of the surrounding formative forces.

The state of scientific and philosophical thought incident to that age is summed up in the one word, *Bacon*—who did but cast and give form to the intense and intensely free speculative spirit of the century. The floating, somewhat empirical, yet popularly accepted speculative notions engendered by a

century of full consciousness, such as the sixteenth was, are, however, seldom recorded by its reputed thinkers, but enter almost unlimitedly into its poetry and drama, for the primary reason that they minister directly to the vividness and realism of fiction. Jenner's happy medical hit—vaccination—was only the scientific form of a popular notion. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood had probably a similar springhead. These masses of floating philosophic *nebulae*, just in the dawn of formulation, still half myth, Shakespeare caught in that wondrous camera of his. In him the groping, instinctive, actinescent consciousness of his public was rendered self-conscious. The thought-drift of the sixteenth century is shored and stored in his dramas of the middle and later periods.

Born and bred in a country town—perhaps half a century behind London in civilization—where men by the ingle-nook still told stories of elves and goblins, of the battlefields of Tewksbury, of the terrible encounter when sad Severn hid its head with affright, of meek Henry the Sixth, of vindictive and basilisk Gloucester, of gracious Edward, of detested and detestable De la Pole. Shakespeare was popular with his public because he represented and interpreted his public, while university-cultured Peele, Greene, Marlowe, and Lilly, who drew less upon popular tradition for materials, and took less heed of traditional estimates, were foreign to the multitude. Being of the crowd, he drew the crowd. They, apparently more inventive in plot, were less realistic in execution.

But these men and their works had a genetic relation to Shakespeare and his, which is quite understated by modern writers. They were Shakespeare-formatives. It was they who dipped in the classical, settled the style and type of the Elizabethan drama, and trimmed it into external symmetry. They had developed to a considerable extent the poetic capacity of the English language before he appeared on the stage. To them was due the creation of that majestic blank verse which Shakespeare so deftly used, the full and flexible rhythm of which Pope afterwards converted into rhymed mathematics, but which has never since lost its hold on English composi-



tion. They manufactured the tools with which he carved his dramas from the ivory bone of crude observation, when they rescued poetry and the drama from Latin. In short, from the disjointed patois of the herd they evolved what may be termed structural English, and did thus a work which he, lacking somewhat in philological culture, must inadequately have done for himself. More than this, they laid the corner-stone of the new dramatic structure in breaking loose from the Moralities which had satisfied the dramatic taste of the age preceding, and from the dumb-show drama—parent of the modern spectacular—which once delighted the virgin queen at Kenilworth, and had so often at Windsor. Greene, in his "Never too Late," has preserved a few titles of these once popular Moralities. Very odd now, it would seem, to see titles on a play-bill like the "Twelve Labors of Hercules," the "Highway to Heaven," the "Moral of Man's Wit," and the "Dialogue of Dives," nor are the dramas of the myriad-minded as far removed from those of his forerunners as are theirs from the mysteries and moralities that preceded them.

The age was one of dramatic transformation in England, quite analogous to that which developed Dumas and Hugo in France. Between it and the background lethargy of the Middle Ages intervenes a stormy and self-assertive period of about one hundred and fifty years; a period of national quickening, of realism, of struggle for liberty. The new age in England, as afterwards in France—the age of quickening, as it may be termed—gives rise to new art-impulses in harmony with itself; and, within the brief interval of a generation, a sudden and complete transformation of the drama results: a transformation presented by no other period in English history, in which the regularity of form, the didactic sermons, and philosophical musings of the mysteries and moralities, lose all hold on the popular fancy.

This complete transformation Shakespeare represents in its highest type, but he no more originated it than Dumas and Hugo originated the Romantic type in France. It was in the air, in the consciousness of the people, waiting to find a tongue. Indeed, it is curious that it has occurred to nobody to term

this type of drama the Tudor Gothic—for it represents the same metamorphosis in letters that the so-called Tudor Gothic represents in building.

When Shakespeare appeared in London, then, the stage was passing through the shaking and sifting process of a revolution. He did not set it on foot. No proof is there that he controlled or even comprehended it. He simply, with a dramatic instinct akin to the intuitive, interpreted and embodied it in creations, from which, were all formal history of the Elizabethan age to be smitten from the record, a pretty correct intellectual and moral map of it might be reconstructed. The century was Bacon and Shakespeare producing: the one built up a Tudor Gothic structure in philosophy, the other in drama, working hard and systematically; somewhat the same did Spenser in lyric poetry. The trouble is that the dramatist has been mistaken for the century, the work of which he reflected. The age was reason for the dramatist, not the dramatist for the age. The exact year of Shakespeare's advent in London cannot now be ascertained; the motive he had for going there is equally uncertain. A story Walker attributed to the parish clerk of Stratford, in 1693, states that he was first taken into the playhouse as a servitor, and by this means had an opportunity to be what he proved afterwards. There is a myth current also, to the effect that, pricked with a twilight sense of his mission, he ran away to London, leaving his family—consisting of his wife, a daughter named Susannah, and twins respectively named Hammet and Judith—dependent on the occasional contributions of benevolent townsmen; but it is far more likely that he was taken to London by the Cloptons or the Catesbys, who hated the Lucys as cordially as he did, and who were impressed with his poetic talent, or that he joined a strolling company of actors at Stratford, and thus worked his way to the great culture-centre of England. To say the least, Rowe's myth, repeated by so many biographers, has no support in facts. "He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill-company," says Rowe; "and amongst them some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him more than once in robbing a park that

belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely, and in order to revenge that ill-usage he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably his first essay in poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was compelled to leave his business and family in Warwickshire and shelter himself in London."

Admitting the facts of the deer-stealing and the ballad, which are very likely to be true, though resting on no authority except that of Rowe, and that of the expression, "An I have not ballads made on you all, and sung to filthy tunes"—it is respectfully suggested that deer-stealing and ballad-making were both too popular and too common in that age to entail odium on the offender or occasion a runaway to London. Indeed, the Lucy feud was a religious one, and not one contingent on a ballad. The Lucys were Puritans: the Cloptons, the Catesbys, and the inhabitants of Stratford were adherents of the antique. William Lucy, the father of Sir Thomas, and the friend of Bishop Latimer, had occasioned more than one riot in Stratford, by enforcing the law too rigorously; the Lucys, the Grevilles, and the Combes representing Puritanism—the Catesbys and Cloptons defending the early faith, and supporting the populace. Powerful at the Court of the Tudors, allied remotely to the blood royal, the Lucys and coadjutors were rigid in presenting and persecuting recusants, and in enforcing the penal laws against the same. Thus, in 1592, they presented as a recusant Mrs. Clopton, widow of William Clopton, Henley-in-Arden, Mrs. Mary Arden, widow; and the name of John Shakespeare, not attending service for fear of process for debt, also graces the list. The statute, framed to prevent the people from harboring Jesuits and papal emissaries, as every student of early English law is aware, exacted attendance once a month at the regular parish services. That the people of Stratford hated the Lucys, as represented by Sir Thomas, and the Grevilles—as represented by Sir Fulke and Sir Edward—and feared as thoroughly as they hated the exponents of the odious statute, is

apparent from the town records printed by Mr. Halliwell. Indeed, in an action for trespass, Sir Edward Greville against the burgesses of Stratford, in 1601, the name of John Shakespeare appears on the list of witnesses for the defendants. A rampant zealot, with a mania for litigation, hereditary dislike of Sir Thomas Lucy is enough to account for the Justice Shallow (*alias* Lucy) in the "Merry Wives of Windsor," published in 1602, and probably suggested by the trespass-suit of 1601, without assuming that Sir Thomas had ever prosecuted the poet for deer-stealing.

It is quite likely, therefore, that Shakespeare's going to London was a deliberate act and part of a life-dream, engendered, perhaps, by witnessing the crude dramatic performances of his day at Coventry: a life-dream as ever-crescent in its faculty as the summer grass is, as dumb and secret until it burst the shell as the germinal acorn whence the oak. Many an English boy has since tempted the whirlpool of London, pricked by the same dream; many a beardless American has in like manner dared destiny, one in a hundred to wrestle successfully in the *melée* of New York. Inseparable from the poetic prompting and its motive is the fame-dream; and to assume that the Avon bard was an exception in this respect is to assume the monstrosity of a coherent story without a predominant motive, of a poet without poetic sensibility.

Again, of the two, in the sixteenth century, the drama led to fame and fortune more rapidly and directly than did lyric poetry. The profession of the dramatist was to London then what that of the novelist is now, a nostrum to make one's way in the world and enable him at his own proper cost to build a windmill. Greene, the Roberto of his own "Never Too Late," mended his fortune in this way.

Puritanism had not yet leavened the whole lump of English sentiment; the profession of actor or dramatist was still sesame to fame and fortune; Bishops like Bale and Still were reckoned among the patrons of the stage; and more than probable it is that the Stratford boy had long cogitated of London and fame as a dramatic poet. The few extant facts point to this hypothesis; his fruitful career is one only to be accounted

for by presupposing a fixed idea : a life-dream, powerful, pervasive, as only a life-dream can be to an imaginative mind, and forever impelling to literary work.

A somewhat subordinate but important question here suggests itself, and pauses for answer. Was the first life-dream of the boy-bard that of fame as a lyric poet, or that of fame as an actor or dramatist ? Was it as the Pindar or as the Euripides of his age that he cogitated of celebrity ?

The former hypothesis is supported by the fact that his first entry for publication at Stationers' Hall, in 1593, consists of the two long poems, "Venus and Adonis," and "Lucrece." Again, lyric fame is more likely than dramatic to have constituted the first air-castle of a boy imprisoned amid Stratford silences, and taking his first lessons in poetry from the antique ballad-love then current, the lyric quality of which is abundantly illustrated in Percy's "Reliques;" while, again, Ovid ranked foremost in the Latin curriculum of 1600, and the airy, transformative *fantasquerie* of the fanciful pagan distinctly tinges the "Midsummer Night's Dream," though the materials of the play were indigenous. Yet again, and of no less value as a determinant, the invention of Shakespeare, in his first period of production, is as spontaneously and distinctively lyrical, though wrought into dramatic form, as that of Shelley in "Queen Mab," and breaks into bubbles of song so frequently as to suggest either an affectation of Pindaric bent, or that the writer had on hand a store of rhyming tid-bits which he intended to work into the dramatic fabric at every admissible opportunity.

The theory that his first fame-dream was that of actor and dramatist rests upon the three considerations : that he drifted to the theatre at once, after his advent in London ; that he was, from the beginning, assiduous both as actor and dramatic author ; and that, at the latter, Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit," 1592, a year before the entry of the poems at Stationers' Hall, delivers the mordant thrust—

"There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you,"

appropriating one of the finest passages in "Henry VI.," in the double function of stiletto with which to stab, and identity-mark with which to point the allusion. The true solution lies probably in the union of the two. The broad interval that now separates the playwright and the poet did not then exist. Poetry had three divisions—epic, lyric, and dramatic. Poets were of three kinds—a playwright was a dramatic poet.

Shakespeare's literary faculty was balanced as upon a pivot between the lyric and the dramatic. His plays are intensely lyrical; his poems intensely dramatic. His materials fell into the one form or the other by a kind of natural selection. In his vocabulary no thorough distinction between dramatic poetry and lyric poetry was possible. Poetry was. In action, human action, with its netted and meshed complexity of passion and emotion, it fell into dramatic form, taking that form by virtue of an inner necessity; in simple beauty, into the lyric form, taking *that* form by virtue of an interior necessity. But in the one, poetry was just as potential as in the other; and that the Elizabethan magician felt this in his very soul, whether he comprehended it in his understanding or not, his spontaneous adaptation of dress to thought, now descending to prose, now stalking in stately blank verse, now falling into rhyme, now breaking into bubbles and sunlit foam of song, abundantly evidences.

The life-dream of a bundle of human faculties thus balanced, of a poetic fecundity thus determined, would naturally dwell on poetry as potential and poetic form as subordinate. He went to London as a poet: the shape into which his musings eddied and curled, as they lifted themselves spectre-like from the vasty deep of his wondrously prolific imagination—fogs from the soul-sea within him,—was a secondary consideration. His keen, practical mind accepted the conditions of success: money in the capacity of an actor and playwright: empty fame in poetry not adapted to the market: and thus, if aright we read the facts of his life, he entered the theatrical profession.

But whence came the marvelous fathom of man and of what Mr. Carlyle calls the infinitudes? Was it instinctive, in-

tuitive? Or was it the result of observation, enlightened by almost superhuman insight? The mythical conception of Shakespeare assumes the former; but careful analysis of the facts proves it to be untenable. Imagine an age in which the theatre is the centre of thought: with few clubs, without coffee-houses, newspapers, novels. Here, in his hexagonal, half-roofed wooden building of the Elizabethan era, with its boxes, admission from a shilling to half a crown, its congregation on the stage of the wits and critics, its actors in the costume of everyday life, met of an afternoon the Sidneys, the Bacons, the Raleighs, Essexes, and Cecils of the British metropolis; the Falstaffs of the day; the weather-bronzed adventurer of the sea, just from Guinea; the vexed Bermoothes, of the romance-land of the Indies; soldiers of fortune and vagabond Bohemians of all types; honest citizens and grave burgesses; voluptuaries and coxcombs by the dozen—all uniting to form a school of observation, of allusion, of wit, of imagination, never since concentrated in a theatre, and five years of which were a dramatic education: a school having the same advantage over newspapers, novels, and books, as media of information, that the actual seeing of a murder has over the intellectual apprehension that a murder has been committed, or the actual study of fossils over a text-book.

Study it from every standpoint, and the most curious phenomenon presented by the Elizabethan period of English history, transitional as it was, is its heterogeneity: the motley of extravagancies, conceits, queer humors and whims, oddities of dress, individualisms in manners and opinions, no central authority anywhere, which formed the observational materials of Shakespeare's dramas. It was an age of medley, of monads; and thus from the people he met daily, to the people he embodied in drama, intervened but a step. Nor yet had geographer of Ariel and Caliban exorcised the still-vexed Bermoothes; nor yet had Puritan severity thoroughly inoculated religious conviction with the intense but limited religionism that conquered English thought a century later: a consideration in which the critic may find the key to the moral range

and freedom from hobbies of theory that seem so phenomenal at first sight in the works of the Elizabethan master. He reflected life as he saw it, not prismatically, but by a kind of dramatic refraction. If, as is supposed, 1585 was the year of his advent in London—saving Greene's epithet of the new *Johannes Factotum* destined to eclipse them all, which implies that as early as 1592 Shakespeare had given earnest enough of his coming fame to pique the jealousy of his competitors, and the brief notice in "*Kind Hearts' Dream*," 1592—it is thirteen years before he emerges from the crowd about him, and takes his place as a centre-piece in literary history. In 1598, Francis Meres, who calls himself a Master of Arts of both Universities, sounds the first note of thorough recognition in his "*Palladis Tamia*," a discourse on English poets. The single brief sentence of unqualified recognition, omitting the titles of twelve plays, quoted as illustrations, runs thus: "Shakespeare, among the English, is the most excellent in both kinds (tragedy and comedy) for the stage." Mention of twelve plays, among them the "*Midsummer Night's Dream*" and "*Romeo and Juliet*," follows, the quaint critic concluding with this sixteenth century euphuism: "As the soul of Euphorbos was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet and witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare;" and with an allusion to the poems and the "sugred sonnets."

Add to the twelve dramas quoted by Meres the three parts of "*Henry VI.*," from which Greene, in the "*Groatsworth of Wit*," takes his "tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide"—compare the passage, "O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide!"—and to which Nash alludes in "*Peers Penniless*;" and it is evident that from 1585 to 1598 the *Johannes Factotum* had produced thirteen plays—one a year.

The notice of Meres is valuable, however, from another standpoint. Ben Jonson's very best comedy, "*Every Man in his Humour*" had been known to the public for two years, having appeared in 1596, and here Jonson was at the climax of his popularity; if then, two years after the publication of Jonson's play, Meres could unqualifiedly pronounce Shakespeare the most excellent both in tragedy and comedy, it is ob-



vious that the eclipse of competition seemingly predicted by Greene had already come about. The conclusion is then, from the slender data at hand, that Shakespeare's first seven years in London were years of observation and life-struggle; that it was at least six years before he became eminent enough to be sneered at; that it was not until he had served a dozen years with the Laban at the door that he was permitted to take his rightful place in the Pantheon.

This view of the progress of his career is supported by the fact that the Great House at Stratford-upon-Avon was not bought until 1597, from which year dates a rapid accumulation of real estate, that seems to end in 1605. From 1597 to 1603 his pen was prolific as a wizard's wand: the man was in the zenith of his fame. In 1600 he published five plays; in 1602, one; in 1603, one—the "Tragedy of Hamlet." But between Hamlet, entered in 1603, and "Lear," entered in 1607, intervenes an apparent interval of non-production. In 1605, he ceases accumulating property; in 1616 he is apparently no wealthier than he was eleven years before.

The key to this mystery is no doubt to be sought in the hypothesis that, having enough and to spare, he held the copyright of his plays in his own hands during these last years of his life, intending to publish them himself, as Ben Jonson did his; and this consideration disposes of another popular myth concerning the Elizabethan master, to wit, his supposed carelessness of literary fame. Death overtook him at the work of revising, recasting, for a complete edition, including *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens*, *Cymbeline*, the *Tempest*, the Roman plays in a body, the *Winter's Tale*, and *Twelfth Night*, still in manuscript; indeed *Othello* was not published until 1622; and he left the work to John Heminge and Henrie Condell, editors of the great folio edition of 1623. "It had been a thing worthy to be wished," say they in their notice to the reader, "that the author himself had lived to have set forth and overseen his own writings"—words which, taken with the context, that they had scarce received from him a blot in his papers, plainly imply that the poet spent the last years of his life in editing and creating for a volume that

should perpetuate his fame, and died suddenly, bequeathing the work of supervision to trusted dramatic coadjutors.

Were it possible to ascertain the exact sequence in which the thirty-seven plays, including *Pericles*, were written, the task of criticism would be astonishingly simplified. The Comedies certainly represent his first period of production; and the Histories, his maturer manhood.

The Tragedies and Roman plays came later, when sore vexed was he with the mystery of life. For example, *Hamlet*, as it now exists, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Othello*, *Timon of Athens*, and the Roman plays belong to the era of James I.; while the Histories and most of the Comedies, except the *Tempest*, are Elizabethan. Thus, in his earlier dramas occur distinct vestiges of the old Stratford folk-lore, mixed with humors, whims, and eccentricities, caught from his contact with men he met at the theatre, and often grotesquely mixed. They deal in the humorous and exceptional in a manner akin to that of Jonson, flash with wit, twinkle with quaintness, bristle with invention. Not until 1603, in *Hamlet*, is the deeper and more problematic exceptional, that distinguishes him as Shakespeare, introduced. In other words, his first plays draw directly from the life surrounding him, its humors and caprices, from the folk-lore of provincial Stratford, from the types of drama about him, from traditions and tales. Then ensues a period of enlarged study, resulting in the historical series; next, the period of tragedy, in which he deals with the appalling exceptional in intellect, imagination, and passion, with strange depth of insight and almost observational fidelity. He is now original in the boldest acceptance. No more *Titania*s, no more fairy dreams, no more grotesqueries, no more humors of manners and diction, no more trifles and Ben Jonsonisms. After nearly twenty years of observation, the creative brain begins to cogitate deep, and finds itself face to face with the terrible problem that the Greek dramatists expressed in the one word, *Fate*. From *Hamlet* on, this one problem, like the ghost in that strange and transitional tragedy of humors, in which the poet has not yet burst into the silent sea of the mystic, but is conscious of a thither drift, is *hic et ubique*.

His dramatic sight, many-lensed as a fly's eye, is now introverted. He studies the men about him as spectres projected against the awful background of the man within him; for every poet's metre of the humanity without is the humanity within. It has been said that every man has a mad-man inside of him. So he has: and a devil, and an angel, and sundry other infinitudes besides; the germ of every individuality he creates, the bent of every tragedy he fashions. Every poet is a pagan: life to him is but as a set of puppets in the foreground, with a perspective of the infinite behind; and, question as he may its terrible silences, they answer never. The day comes when he must question. Lead by by-paths to faith his questioning may, as Shakespeare's did not; or to sullen submission to the destiny juggernaut, man an insect to be ground under its wheels, as Shakespeare's did.

He is face to face with this problem in Hamlet, but cannot forbear flashes of his old playfulness. This is the key-note of Hamlet's soliloquy—the key-note of Hamlet as a dramatic creation—the moral of his life and death. He is no more a lunatic, as some have conjectured, than in the old story of Saxo, upon which the tragedy is based. It is the grotesque commingle of the pretended lunacy of the traditional Hamlet, and the deepened humor of Shakespeare, with the subjective cogitation of an appalling problem, that gives the Hamlet of the drama its perfect counterfeit of real madness. That way madness lies; more men have maddened with this problem than ever maddened with any other—but the cranky Dane is not mad, and is not meant as mad. Ophelia maddens and dies under the wheels of the juggernaut; but not so her lover, who is ground to death in his sober senses.

But as this play represents the turning-point, it is interesting to hear the poet's own solution of the riddle it moots. It is given in the single sullen sentence: "The rest is silence!" Indebted to his intimacy with Bacon, or to study of the Greek Drama, Shakespeare may have been, for the suggestion of this problem; but from Hamlet on, through Lear and the later tragedies, it possesses him to the exclusion of all other motives. And the true motive of tragedy it is: life producing,

death devouring; Matter, a dumb Saturn, eating its own, a relentless cannibal; the rest silence. He pronounces no verdicts, indulges in no dogmatism; paints the terrible real as it is in its deepest deeps, with a catholic truth to nature that, amusing so long as it dealt in humors and caprices, is now awful in its sublimity and in its recognition of inexorable facts, and leaves the reader oppressed with a nightmare sense of the omnipotence of evil, and a pathetic conviction that, however sad as death may be, the very saddest of all is living and loving. And to bring nearer the humanity of Shakespeare, this transition in method is nearly coincident with the death of his only son.

How great, how little is man in the whirlpool of life, studied from this standpoint—at once a hero and a zero! And how Spencer's ideal-men and Carlyle's hero-men shrink and shrivel in comparison! Admitting the validity of this very general classification of his plays, what then becomes of the popular myth, so long fostered by panegyrists, that Shakespeare sprang, Titan-like, upon the age he interpreted, without culture, without observation of life, without progress: a play of nature, who married and died, like other people, as supra-human as Ariel, or as sub-human as Caliban? The age was one of rare Latin culture, in which the Stratford prodigy shared; and if, as Jonson owns, the young man from Stratford had "little Latin and less Greek," when he went to London, it by no means ensues that he was unable to read either. Indeed, Jonson's sneer implies that he knew something of both; not enough, though, to rescue his earlier works from pedantries like "the honey of Hybla," "pitiful Titan," "Diana's foresters," "*homo* is a *common* name for man," and others of the same kind, which have little place in his later; but enough to sustain the brief biographical condensation, that, a young gentleman of more than average culture and of boundless ambition, Shakespeare went to London in pursuit of his life-dream of fame and fortune as a dramatist, fought out, step by step, the progressive life-struggle so many have since repeated, was for seven years at least too obscure to have left even an impress on the record of his generation, struggled for ten or twelve

years before full recognition came or was even deserved, and finally died in the midst of revision and recreation for a complete edition of his work—having, if the metaphor be admissible, dramatized the sixteenth century Englishman.

But how came the myth about? Who forged the mighty fantasy? As concerns the intellectual classes, two great and exceptional critics were the agents of its creation. Profoundly as Coleridge and Schlegel comprehended the metaphysical aspects of Shakespeare's work, both were sadly unscientific and incoherent, and are responsible for not a little of the general misapprehension. Evolution and progress have no part in their estimates. The German critic flounders in marshes of transcendental and deep-sounding absurdity in his theory of Hamlet; the English thinker is so taken with his own epithet, *the myriad-minded*, translated from a Byzantine critic, as to have no inclination for that really valuable psychological analysis of which he was capable. The former attempted to apply the dualism of Hegel to Shakespearean criticism, and got lost in a fog of his own making; the latter created an awful and colossal, yet dimly anthropomorphic, *eidolon*, and dubbed it Shakespeare, whereas it was merely his own ideal of the great philosophical poet he was so fond of talking about, under another name. Both complicated dramatic criticism more than they simplified it: being mostly responsible for the popular conception of Shakespeare as a tremendous and non-human personality—a wierd and potent magician of the drama, web-weaving from within, and calling spirits from the vasty deep at will, not a gifted man, waging a life-battle, and finally, by industry, backed with wonderful insight and invention, winning his position in the van.

But did he originate a new method? This question must be answered in the affirmative, as his works now stand. Had he died before producing Hamlet, and the later tragedies, most of which he left in manuscript, a negative answer would have been the only possible one—for it is only in his later products that he works from within, distinctively and unswervingly. Saving a certain wealth and Gothic intricacy of humor and invention of the filling-in type, in which he exceeded his

contemporaries, his first method in no way differs from theirs. Like Dickens, he takes hold of a humor, a pet and peculiar phrase, a shrug of the shoulder, a bob of the head, and whimsically repeats it. Jonson, Greene, Marlowe, and the rest of them, worked in the same way. What this method is capable of is illustrated alike by Falstaff and Uriah Heep; but it differs materially from the method of his later creations, in which there is an infinite light and shadow—the infinite light and shadow of the universal, limited and unfolded in the individual, of the man, particular and actual, in his proper relation to the awful background of potential humanity. Monads of nature, as Falstaff and the Duke of Gloucester are, and hence powerful and unique, they lack the sympathetic relation to the universal that Othello and Lear have; while Hamlet is entitled to the epithet of transitional, the dramatist having abandoned the old exclusive dealing in fantastic humors and whims, in which he was not original, but not having yet sounded the depths of the new in which he was.

These considerations are very general; but they serve to negative the current myth of a Shakespeare blossoming suddenly on the sixteenth century in full-fledged and intuitive originality. Analysis of his first productions, and comparison with the works of his contemporaries, Ben. Jonson for example, lead to the conclusion that of all Elizabethan poets he was the most instinctive in his artistic processes; and, after criticism has exhausted its microscopy and secured one by one the consisting atoms of a work of fiction, this one induction sums up the verdict: every poet, *qui nascitur, non fit*, possesses a poetic insight far outrunning conscious intellectualization, and toils on at his work, blindfold in his understanding, but with unerring and intuitive art-sight—so that in every great poem there is always an element that eludes and outruns conscious analysis. It is this element that distinguishes Shakespeare as a really great poet—for, without it, his creations would lack perspective, as those of Ben Jonson did, and as those of mediocre poets always must. It is this that in his songs, in his sonnets, in Hamlet, Lear, the Tempest, the Midsummer Night's Dream, fulfils the highest con-

dition of beauty as propounded by Bacon. "There is no excellent beauty," says he, perhaps with the "Midsummer Night's Dream" in his mind, "without some strangeness in the proportion." Indeed, Shakespeare's works, or passages rather in one of his plays, undoubtedly suggest Bacon's brief but profound essay, condensing within the limits of a few paragraphs—every one of them a boulder in boldness and insight—the whole philosophy of the beautiful.

The facts of his biography and the formative forces environing and determining the works of the great and Gothic master, have now been cursorily discussed. The result, holding the balances with a hand as firm and steady as that of justice in the traditional myth, is simply this: 1. The lack of facts establishing the exact order of the composition of his plays and poems, one after another, in the instance of Shakespeare, as in that of Pindar in lyric poetry, or that of Plato in philosophy, renders it impossible to trace inductively the progress of his mind, with the minuteness necessary in criticism thoroughly scientific. 2. Facts enough there are to prove beyond cavil that, in all its aspects, the popular conception of the man is as wholly mythical as legendary King Arthur differs from the real man as radically as the ideal Napoleon of M. Theiers differs from the actual Napoleon of M. Lanfrey, or as the Pindar of Byzantine theory differs from the lyric poet of Thebes as he actually was. But these are not facts enough to afford a distinct map either of his outer or of his inner life, the meanderings and doublings, and consecutive progress of either, or even to answer the important question, whether the awful vision of something holding human destiny in its hands, which begins with Hamlet, and forms the atmosphere of his later tragedies, was original and conditioned upon the deepened inner life that followed the death of Hamlet, suggested by the intimacy with Bacon, or caught from perusal of the Greek masters.

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ART. III—1. *Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe.* PAR M. GUIZOT. Paris. 1866.

2. *Survey of Human Progress.* BY N. ARNOTT. London. 1861.

MAN is just learning the powerful influence possessed by the various conditions of nature over national character. A race of men is a complex phenomenon. Throughout its whole continuance the hereditary strain derived from its founders is manifested. Next to this come the influences of food, soil, climate, and the other phenomena of nature; and, lastly, such occurrences as wars, migrations, and foreign intercourse. These are the circumstances which build nations. National character is never the work of individuals, but is the slow result of ages of hereditary, social, and meteorological influences.

Historians have devoted themselves too exclusively to the political relations, governmental changes, rebellions, religions, and court trickeries of kingdoms, as if in these lay the whole secret of history. On the idiosyncrasies of rulers, their virtues, vices, and ambitions, the greatest stress has been laid, as if the king were the true arbiter of the State and could by his bare decree determine the direction of national progress.

It must be remembered that general effects spring not from special causes; that the people is not a shape of clay to which the kingly artist may affix what face and form he will; but a vital, thinking mass, on which the monarch may temporarily impress his authority, but on which kingly force can produce no permanent impression. For the people is a compound of all its individuals, and only he who can most deeply descend into the mind of a nation can most effectually modify its character.

It is the thinkers, not the actors, who produce powerful and persistent effects upon national character. If we search back through time for those vigorous souls whose influence has most strongly affected the culture and development of the human race, we stop not at the leaders of armies, or the rulers of



kingdoms, but at the emperors of the realm of thought, the mighty thinkers whose words, like the tones of great bells struck in the night of time, throb in endless reverberation through all succeeding ages, melodious echoes to which the ear of the world is always attuned.

Homer, so far distant on the primeval horizon of history as to be almost lost in the morning mists of time, struck the key-note of that marvellous Grecian civilization which has so powerfully affected all succeeding nations.

Of all the great leaders of men who have lorded it so magnificently on the classic soil of Greece, not one has produced a tithe of the effect upon mankind that has resulted from the fugitive song of this blind old poet. Alexander the Great, to whom half the world bowed its head in subjection, passed, and his influence upon the world was soon lost in the turmoil of conflicting peoples; but the sublime work of Homer rolls through time like a river, gathering strength and volume as it proceeds, and ever producing new growths of thought in the rich soil of humanity. So Shakespeare has had a far more powerful effect in moulding the English race than all its rulers, from William the Norman to Victoria. And from his native isle, in ever-spreading circles, his influence has extended, till to-day it embraces the whole civilized world.

Historians look microscopically at the deeds of kings, and, beholding evidence of great political changes, fancy the kingly power to be the supreme architect of the national structure. The telescope, not the microscope, should be used, for centuries must be embraced in the view that would measure kingdoms. As the eye runs down successive centuries, we find nature and circumstance stubbornly resisting the mandates of the mightiest monarchs, so that, ere the dirge is hushed over the remains of the Cæsars and Charlemagnes of history, the world has taken a new breathing-spell, and commenced quietly to forget the doings and decreeings of its dead lords. National progress obeys certain grand laws of unfoldment, on which government must ride as a ship upon the waves, and often with as little influence over the result as a ship has over the ocean depths below; for the king is a creature, not a creator,

and those silent causes which mould nations are not amenable to royal authority.

There is native to every man a certain degree of vital and mental energy, the sum of which in a nation constitutes that moving force which produces the tidal flow of history. This energy must have its vent and its channel, and if powerfully flowing in one direction cannot be long held back. All the kingship in the world would seek in vain to repress its current. The only imperial power is that of directing or shrewdly dividing the stream into opposing branches. The force resident in a state is not easily measured, and is seldom fully appreciated. It is both physical and mental: the physical highly in the ascendant in the earlier stages of national existence; the mental gaining precedence in the end. A man is in a certain sense a machine, eliminating muscular force and nervous energy from the elements of nature. These forces must find vent in some direction, and their total sum marks the limits of a nation's capabilities; at least in those earlier stages of existence, ere man has learned to add to his own energies the forces of inorganic nature. Degree given, direction follows, and direction is here a nerve-process, proceeding from the brain and controlled by the mental energies. Mind overrules and directs the action of the vital motive forces, and the greatest king is he who acts as the brain of his people, most fully comprehending their character, and most capable of combining and directing their mental powers.

In man's primitive condition national force is greatly lacking in directive power. Each person obeys his unrestrained impulses, and license widely prevails. There is no progress, because no combinations of the people, no blending of selfish interests to fixed ends. This stage of existence ends when some aspiring soul, invested with the authority of age or strength, assumes leadership of the people, and by using their combined force, achieves results which clearly display the utility of subordination.

Thus everywhere arose chieftainship, the first rude correlation of human energies and their employment in fixed channels. Selfishness and cupidity are the feelings most at work

in such a state of society: law means strength, and failure is the only crime recognized in the earliest unwritten code. Hence war is everywhere the employment of uncultivated nations, and national energy first displays itself on the field of battle. The mental desires of men lie at the basis of all their actions. These at first tend only to the gratification of appetite. The stomach is the inspiring cause of the earliest warfare. The battle against beasts becomes battle against man as soon as his possessions tempt the cupidity of his fellows.

Some tribes possess lands more favored by nature than others, blessed with food-producing trees and animals. The possession of these lands becomes a strong incentive to strife. This continuous battling adds rapidly to the authority of the successful chief. As the minds of his followers yield more readily to his directing genius, and subordination becomes a fixed habit, he devises new wars, less for the benefit of his people than for the increase of his authority and reputation. Thus ambition becomes one of the vigorous elements of history.

Nations, thus habituated to warfare, and accustomed to forcibly seize the possessions of weaker or more peaceful neighbors, lost all taste for industrial pursuits. It was much easier to take by force than to gain by labor, and these warlike races became the scourges of all neighboring tribes, their native energies being forcibly bent in one direction, and combined to fixed ends\* by their subordination to the rule of their chief.

Not only aggression but defence had to be provided for, and to this numbers became necessary. Weak tribes enrolled themselves under the standards of successful chieftains, others were forced to become tributary either in money or men, and powerful kingdoms arose, the military authority of the successful leader merging into the absolute government of the despotic king. In these primitive periods national force was mainly applied to purposes of destruction. The industries of the more peaceful nations were trodden under foot by their fierce neighbors, and themselves enslaved or exterminated.

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\* Whitney's *Oriental Studies*, p. 26.

Yet despite this constant overthrow of the results of industry, and the conservative grasp with which each tribe forbade development in its few arts, the world of mankind was improving, and laying up wealth against the long future before it. Man was developing physically, improving in bone, blood, nerve, and sinew, and building a splendid physical foundation for the great mental structure yet to be erected.

Before the onslaught of vigorous barbarians, effete tribes were swept away, and their places filled with the muscular vigor of conquering races. These latter, transplanted to new scenes, and gradually acquiring the peaceful pursuits of their predecessors, applied to art and industry the energy they had applied to war. Industrial development thus advanced in successive waves, as the hand of the warrior grasped with martial vigor the implements of peace, improving on the old and originating new processes. As each such tribe reached its limit of progress, and settled into peace and conservatism, new migrations swept over its territories, and fresh blood replaced the effete strain of the settled inhabitants.

This process, continued through generations—through centuries, through ages, whose immense duration science is but faintly beginning to determine—could not fail to produce a powerful effect upon the physique of mankind. It was a true process of natural selection, in which the weak constantly yielded to the strong, mankind developing at once in muscular vigor and in mental strength through the action of these varied causes. As man's powers advanced, the mind gradually gained preëminence over the muscles, and in the great treasury of mankind mental as well as physical wealth began to accumulate.

With the era of mental progress the blind tendency to destruction, which had formerly animated the tribes, ceased to employ all the energies of the vigorous races; a portion of their strength was applied to purposes of construction, and the world began more rapidly to lay up stock for that grand future to which all things tend. This process of construction had its two phases: physical and mental; the physical the sport of barbarous aggression, its remains, ruins; the mental,

safe from the sword, and possessed of a vitality which the assaults of time itself failed to overcome.

The earliest mental constructive movement of mankind lay in the invention of language, that rare vehicle of thought which has since grown into so colossal proportions that the study of its growth, its decadence, its correlations, and its present forms, constitutes not the least intricate of the sciences. In this great philological labor there was probably little plan and as little consciousness of the amount of work performed. The man who invented a new root or a fresh idea of grammatical inflection, did so unconscious of merit; the man who built a new tower or temple, supposed his labor was to be the delight of latest futurity; yet the temple has crumbled into dust, while the root remains, the vital centre of a grand tree of words. There has been a vast amount of mental energy applied in this direction, and the present is rich with the labor of the past, rich to an extent we should fully appreciate were we now deprived of language and had to devote our national force to rebuild it.

But coeval with language appears religion. Superstition is as old as thought, and its productions are invested with an antiquity to which history can lay no claim. Yet many of the ancient beliefs and fancies are vital to the present day, still living in the legends and popular observances of Christian nations. Through ages of advancing doctrines and creeds, the world has been moving onward and upward; passing from the lowest fetichism, through successive grades of nature-worship, astronomical religion, and mythology, to the highest of philosophical and metaphysical creeds. Each level of belief, as attained, serves as a resting-place and foot-hold for the mind of man, from which he steps upwards, in the fulness of time, to a higher level.

Thus each creed-maker, each delver into the mysteries of the unseen world, who, in his conception of the gods, saw further into the infinite than his fellows, who discovered a new moral apothegm, or at any point displayed a higher appreciation of man's duties, paid his tax in the purest coin into the great human treasury.

Man moves not upwards *per saltum*, but by slow and painful efforts; in some lines of development and at some stages of growth, centuries adding but imperceptibly to his progress. The human search for truth has been that of the unskilled man, who wanders through a valley of minerals in search of precious stones. One shining pebble after another is admired, cherished, and finally discarded for a more attractive stone, and only after many errors and many renewed attempts does he at last learn the tests by which the true jewel may be distinguished.

So we are the richer that our unskilled ancestors slowly educated themselves into an appreciation of religious truth, trying and discarding system after system, growing into successive higher creeds, building gradually a grand temple of morality, and forcing rude and rebellious man to worship therein. Thus, when the time came for Christianity to collate into a vital whole these moral apothegms of the past, it found the mind of man ready to receive them.

This is world wealth of the purest and most enduring character. Language and religion advanced, not only side by side, but in many respects hand in hand, in their slow growth. The scope and richness of language had to be increased to admit of the expression of superior religious conceptions, and many mythological dogmas grew up from a misconception of the origin and full meaning of words.

When history dawned upon the world, man was possessed of rich philological, philosophical, and theological treasures whose extent and value he was far from appreciating, yet which formed the necessary foundation on which was erected the vast edifice of modern civilization. Much we owe the past for this precious heritage which it has found time to lay up for us in the midst of its warlike turmoil, and which we yet enjoy without due appreciation of the vast mental labor employed in its production.

But religion went further. In the priesthood arose a class with higher aims than the fierce desire to battle, a class pledged to peace, the natural recipients of the scanty learning of their people, strong in mental prowess, and fully alive to the fact

that "Knowledge is Power." There was a caste with the time and the incentive to think. At last, thought was cultivated for itself alone; as an end, not as a means, save for the influence and authority given by superior knowledge.

What forms the speculations and researches of mankind first took we do not know, except in so far as our discoveries in primitive philology and metaphysics let us into the secret. The earliest written records are indicative of an advanced grade. Yet from these we know something of the contributions paid by the various early nations into the pre-historic stock of learning. That the Egyptian priesthood, at an exceedingly remote period, attained to great proficiency in arts that to the people appeared magical, there is abundant evidence. The record in the Pentateuch is but one of the evidences of the scientific knowledge possessed by this ancient priesthood.

On the delta of the Euphrates, from their brick-built towers, the Chaldean priests searched the heavens, and wrote on clay tablets, religiously preserved, the records of many centuries of close observation of the stellar and planetary movements. In China numerous arts arose, and many important discoveries were made, through the intelligent researches of this and the other unemployed classes. In India the energies of the priesthood were largely directed to speculation, and philosophical systems of a lofty order arose.\* Thus each race of old made its special contribution to the common treasury of the nations.

War too long persisted in must dry the fountain from which it drinks. A world may become so ravaged as to have nothing left to tempt cupidity. Hence even the fiercest people must have their intervals of repose and their means of peaceful support during these intervals. The savage has the wild animal to subsist upon. The barbarous nomad succeeded in taming certain docile animals, and learned to employ them both for food and carriage, a legacy he has left as one of his con-

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\* En Egypte c'était le principe theocratique qui possédait la société tout entière. Dans l'Inde vous trouverez le même fait.—GUIZOT, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, p. 34.

tributions to the world's stock. But all countries are not fitted to these wandering habits. Defence against foreign aggression is also a powerful incentive to condensation of tribes in fixed positions. These positions are not arbitrary, but are governed by certain necessary conditions. Natural defences and facility of food production are the first of these conditions. The growth of an edible grain or of an important fruit was of the greatest importance in fixing the early centres of civilization. Rice in the East, millet and the date in Egypt, settled kingdoms that attained prosperity while the rest of the world was savage. In these grain-consuming countries was born the all-important art of agriculture. This most conservative of the arts was probably of interminable slowness in its development. Yet gradually man learned to plant the seeds of edible plants, to break the ground for their reception; now accident, now experiment, added a new plant to the list of edibles, and this process, continued through many centuries, has made us possessors of a wide range of plants useful for food and clothing, a most important part of the well-invested labor of the past, from which we are daily drawing interest.

But food and defence not being always combined, artificial walls were needed to replace the lack of natural ones. The desire felt by a vigorous government to concentrate its forces suggested the idea of building these walls around cities, in which, security being thus provided for, wealth accumulated, and leisure gained, religion erected its temples, government its forts and palaces, and the people, in humble imitation, their huts.

Thence sprang architecture, at first rude and uncouth, yet even in these rude periods frequently cyclopean in strength. The original design of defence and shelter was followed by the promptings of luxury, the desire to build monuments for the future, aided by the imperial force of despotism. The Egyptian Pyramids will witness to the desire for fame in their builders, and the exhaustive employment of the vigor of the nation in their erection. All the world is strewn with the ruins of the works of these ancient architects. From England to India, from Mexico to Peru, the massive remains of the



earliest orders of architecture attest the wish and the failure of those who thought to build for all time.

But, through these slow centuries, immature yet often grand designs of architecture slowly grew, reaching at length its glorious culmination on the classic shores of Greece, the fragments of whose noble works yet remain, treasures of beauty to the world.

Man's physical labors have not the vitality of his mental work. The first lie visible upon the face of the earth, for the iron foot of war to tread upon and crush into indistinguishable ruin. All that ravage has left us are such cyclopean masses as defied its efforts, or occasional works of beauty which caprice, accident, the courage of their builders, or frequently the inhospitable desert which war made around them, had preserved to our times. But thought is not amenable to the sword; it survives wars and dynasties, *and mocks the hand that would suppress it.* Our chief indebtedness is not to the hands, but to the brains, of our ancient progenitors. Their architectural remains are important to us as historical records and useful models; their thought is essential to us as gradually devising and perfecting that system of habitation, and domestic comfort and convenience, which we can only claim to have improved upon, not to have originated. World wealth has little analogy to what we are now content to term wealth, consisting, as it does, mostly of ideas. The thought of the past is the platform on which our present enlightenment stands, the foundation which the vaguely directed efforts of thousands of years have deeply laid, and on which the lofty present towers in splendor, a temple truly not made by hands.

The physical characteristics of a country strongly influence the direction taken by the energies of its inhabitants, and the result produced. Of these agencies temperature is perhaps the most important. The sun is a grand arbiter of human destiny. In frigid regions the difficulty of food-getting and shelter is so great as to absorb all the energies of the people. An overworked race has no time to think. Leisure and incentive are needed for advantageous thought. In winter they have leisure, but then no incentive, their food-supply being already

procured. Moreover, a flesh-eating people never advances beyond the simple art of killing. Their harvest is made for them, and they have only to reap it.

In torrid zones, on the contrary, nature performs the labors of the field. Food is a spontaneous production of the soil and the sun, and man needs only to pluck and eat. Here, too, there is no lack of leisure, where "to the tickling of a hoe the earth laughs with a harvest"; but incentive is wanting. To a people without a need, fully supplied by bountiful nature, what hope is there of attaining to the advanced necessities of a refined people?

At the basis of all civilization is the need of labor. The first incentive to progress is that of a limited amount of exertion in procuring the means of existence. This effort produces a bodily and mental vigor which fits man for higher aims. But a yet more important demand is that of care and prevision. Agriculture stands at the base of civilization, teaching man the value of labor, the rich rewards to be reaped by skilfully-directed toil, the necessity of providing for the future and profiting by the past, and the great importance of observing the changes and phenomena of nature. To such slowly-built habits of economy, industry, and observation the world is indebted for much of its present enlightenment.

Such is the energy of tropical nature that man becomes dwarfed, and yields himself captive to that vigorous luxuriance which needs no aid from his hands, and which disdains his efforts at restriction. Ere art can be won, nature must be subdued, and there is as little hope of an ignorant savage controlling the marvellous vegetation of Brazil, or steadily toiling under the fiery heats of Africa, as there is of the Esquimaux gathering harvests from the iceberg.

Nor was civilization likely to attain marked development in the present temperate regions. The savage aborigines of America and Europe dwelt in interminable woods, or on vast prairies, sterile, save to the hands of cultivated industry, the future grains being as yet but wild grasses, animals and certain indigenous fruits furnishing them a scanty subsistence. In no case do we find an advanced civilization having its

origin in one of these primeval forests. True, the present American savage was preceded by a race which has left behind it rude yet massive works of art. This race attained a certain degree of immature civilization. Its most striking results appear in the great mounds of the Mississippi Valley. This heaping of earth into memorial mounds is one of the first evidences that barbarian man has arrived at a sense of his own importance in the creation, and at a desire of impressing futurity with this importance.

They are found throughout the earth, often unaccompanied by other marked signs of advancement, though in the case of the American aborigines the remains of pottery, of wrought minerals, and of mining operations, attest a considerable degree of progress. Of evidences of agriculture we have only the use of maize, which they may have bequeathed to their successors. This, the highest step of advancement attained in temperate America, is paralleled in Central Asia by the domestication of animals. This region consists of woodless steppes suitable only for grazing, and in the long range of past time its inhabitants have gradually tamed and employed, as human aids, nearly all the animals capable of useful domestication.

But the birth of the true plants of civilization needed more favorable conditions. First a fertile soil, some indigenous fruit or grain yielding richly with rude cultivation, yet sufficiently difficult to need labor, and sufficiently precarious to require providence in its cultivators. If in a tropical country, a lack of rain was necessary to repress its fertility; if in temperate regions, sufficient rain to make the soil moderately fertile, yet not enough to burden the land with forests.

From such conditions the more advanced grades of human progress sprung. In a rainless tropic, irrigation gave birth to the civilization of Peru. On the fertile table land of Mexico arose a second immature western civilization. Egypt was civilized by the Nile sediment and the date palm. Hindostan by rice and its native fertility. It was not simply the fact of the peculiar natural conditions of these countries that produced such results, but the fact that these conditions, in connection with their favorable political situation, aided, if they did not irresistibly produce, the growth of great empires.

In these, the people, being protected from aggression, and forced to labor by the necessities of abundant populations, made the cultivation of the soil the basis of what little talent for progress they possessed, and gradually but surely developed the science of agriculture to a very considerable extent.

In Chaldea and China, like causes produced like effects.\* Great empires arose wherever favored by natural conditions. The necessities of these empires produced agriculture and manufactures in their primitive forms. The pride of princes and the need of governments aided the development of architecture and the discovery and application of political and legal principles. The desire of the priestly class to advance their influence as well as to exercise their energies led them to study the laws of nature, a study which usually ends in forcing the student to pursue it for itself alone, whatever may have been his original incentive.

Human progress, thus carried onward from its primitive stage by the natural results of the social conditions in great empires, aided by the hereditary genius of the peoples forming these empires, advanced till it reached a limit imposed on it by the conditions producing it. At this limit it ceased advancing, and a process of decadence commenced. But while these empires were growing, a people, destined to lead the van of future development, and which had been for past ages gathering physical energy from the warfare and nomad unrest of Central Asia, was migrating in successive waves from its natal seat, and overflowing Europe with the devastating vigor of a deluge. When finally the Aryans settled in their new seats, the European aborigines had nearly disappeared under the fierce onslaught of their conquerors.

Of all these Aryan invaders the Hellenes finally established themselves under conditions most conducive to civilized advancement. In the mountainous peninsula of Greece, with a genial climate, a remarkably clear atmosphere, with the bright

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\* Quand on considere les civilisations antiques, on les trouve empruntes d'un singulier caractère d'unité dans les institutions, les idées, les mœurs; une force unique gouverne et décide de tout.—GUIZOT, p. 34.

waters of the ocean everywhere indenting their shores, their efforts at self-defence aided by mountain barriers, their soil unproductive, necessitating habits of temperance, and preventing thronged populations, divided by natural boundaries into numerous small, aggressive, and emulative communities; they were splendidly situated, not for originating civilization, but for grasping that already produced, and turning their migratory and war-like energies to more useful exercise in advancing the arts of peace.\*

Their situation was not only advantageous naturally, but politically. To the south, within easy reach, lay Egypt, with all its great architectural, mechanical, and scientific wealth. On the eastern shore of their seas dwelt the Phœnicians, the great maritime and trading people of antiquity, with cities and literary culture only second to those of Egypt. Eastward still, but within easy reach, lay Assyria, the recipient of all the arts and culture of the Chaldeans.

The active minds and hereditary genius of the Greeks soon availed themselves of these conservatories of pre-historic culture surrounding them. In the origin of their enlightenment the influence of all these nations is easily traceable; but they rapidly developed the semi-barbarous civilization of the Nile and the Euphrates to a stage of marvellous development which, at its climax and in its special phase, has never since been equalled.

The world had now gained an impetus which no obstacles could henceforth long overcome, no deluge of barbarism destroy. The stimulus of Grecian thought acted on the Latin mind, and aided by the preceding Etruscan culture, gave the torch of civilization to the rapidly-growing Roman empire. The arms of the legions carried this great gift over the accessible world, moulding a channel of advanced thought for the enlivening flow of the waters of Christianity.

The subsequent physical overflow of barbarians southward reacted in a mental overflow northward. The thought with which these shores were warm penetrated in time the mind of

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\* Taine, *Art in Greece*.

the German Aryans, and civilized the north. The forest region, so sterile to savage hands, proved fertile to the seeds of southern art and knowledge, and has formed the true cradle of modern progress.

We have made sufficient premises to perceive that civilization is not a direct sum of the energies of mankind. The problem is far more intricate. Each nation is possessed of a wealth of innate energy. This is mainly employed on objects of temporary advantage. Comparatively small is the portion laid up in that world stock which is to be for the benefit of all the future, and into which falls everything new, be it a new word, a new thought, a new mode. For new things are vital, and grow to unforeseen consequences, and we are daily reaping the fruit grown from seeds of originality planted in the far past. But, while every nation employs some fixed portion of its energy in aiding the progressive movement of mankind, each gives vent to its native vigor in fixed directions, and if we admit here the idea of the correllation of forces, it must be granted that the efforts of certain races, though well directed for their own immediate advantage, have proved ill for the world's advancement by dragging down civilization far towards their own level.

We may take now a closer view of the payments which the principal nations and periods have made into the world's treasury, what coin they have used, and whether time has pronounced it counterfeit or sterling.

The oldest nations of which we have knowledge are so deeply hidden in the dim mists of the past that they can only be seen "as through a glass, darkly." Every portion of Southern and Central Asia, through untold centuries of prehistoric time, laid up the capital of culture whose interest we are still employing. Language was, on this vast continent, brought to a degree of grammatical perfection to which no modern language can lay claim. Here arose the various religions of the world whose advanced creeds still occupy the mind of man. In India arose metaphysics, lyric poetry, and a complex literature. In Chaldea, astronomy; in Assyria, a considerable advance in grammar, natural history, and statis-

tics. In China, agriculture, architecture, and general science made great progress, and here arose that ideal of perfect government,—so poorly applied in modern China,—the investment of intellect and knowledge with power. In Arabia and Phœnicia, commerce and maritime enterprise made remarkable advancement; and in Egypt an Asiatic race developed architecture to a degree which is still the marvel of modern nations.

When the age for the birth of history had arrived, it found the world possessed of a vast treasure of ancient thought, whose full amount we have now no means of declaring, but which rendered comparatively easy the labors of succeeding nations. Indestructibility is an attribute of thought alone. While towers and temples fall and crumble into dust, an idea will live through the fall and dissolution of empires, and survive in all its pristine beauty to gladden the hearts of yet unborn peoples. Thus, thoughts that arose in the minds of barbarous nomads, tending their flocks and watching the starry skies in ancient Arya, formed the roots of that tree which grew into the magnificent mythology of Greece.

But crossing the dim horizon of time into the domains of settled history, Greece first demands our attention. Glorious was the contribution of this enlightened race to the world's stock of thought. In every phase of the finer elements of human progress the Hellenes attained a development which lifts them to the highest throne of human glory. Art is the motto stamped on the sterling coin of their enlightenment. The poetry, drama, sculpture, oratory, architecture, and language of this rare people, are all deeply pervaded with that artistic spirit which has proved the necessary corrective of the Gothic redundancy of the modern age.

The empire of Alexander gave a fatal blow to the chief glory of Greece. Conquest was his watchword, and Asia fell beneath his sword. This, however, was but a spasmodic effort of military force whose results by no means equalled its brilliancy. But Rome arose, with a national idea similar to the personal idea of Alexander, and in proportion as the life of a nation surpasses that of an individual her conquests exceeded his in permanence of effect. From England to Persia, from

the German woods to Sahara, spread the iron civilization of Rome, impressing itself so deeply upon the human soil that all the barbarous deluge of the North failed to wash it out. Rome had no native art. It borrowed largely from conquered Greece, and built a city and a literature in which the roundness and polish of Grecian art is strangely mingled with the directness and vigor of Roman strength. Rome was but a virtuoso, ravaging the world, embellishing its city, and cultivating its mind with the best results of the labor and thought of all mankind, and grasping in its iron hand a thousand fragments of world treasure which were so scattered through the conquered world. Side by side with these advances in art, science, politics, and military skill, morals were being gradually coördinated into systems, and ruling with more and more potency the nations of the world, as they one by one stepped out of the mental gloom of barbarism into the light of civilization.

Back in time further than history can reach, and at the remotest limits of tradition, we see the great forms of the early teachers of mankind looming, half visible, through the mists of the far past, grand and dim as are the giants of the Brocken to the eyes of wondering travellers. With surprise we find in the works of Confucius and of Zoroaster systems of ethics and moral apothegms equal, in many respects, to any modern teachings; superior, in most respects, to modern morality.\* In India both the Buddhists and the Brahmans possessed moral and philosophical ideas which are equally a wonder to us, and which were far above the comprehension and action of their people.

Thus, throughout man's existence, great minds, centuries in advance of their age, have been rising, casting the blinding light of too brilliant truth upon the shrinking world, and passing away apparently without effect upon the purblind worms at their feet. But their grand ideas take root in human literature, if not in human minds, and the time will surely come when the world will grow up to the level of every worthy

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\* Whitney, p. 195.



thought, and take into its soul, as a part of its nature, that which has existed but in its brain or in its books.

The time came in which a portion of the world was prepared to accept a higher standard of morality. Christ arose, and by His teachings and example set in motion a mighty circle of influence which gradually drew the nations of Europe within its bounds, and in its youth conquered Rome, the great conqueror. Thenceforth a purer and higher system of ethics prevailed, and the luxury and libertinism of Rome was followed by the lofty ideal of Christian morals.

Next in the East, that nursery of invasion, arose another of those peculiar concentrations of national energy around a central thought, of which history yields so few instances. This was the migration of a vital idea, that dogma of the unity of God which Mohammed has so firmly impressed upon the Saracen mind. Centuries before, the Buddhistic idea of the equality of man had made a peaceful conquest of Central Asia. This thought of the Arab prophet went out sword in hand, and, like the dead grass before the prairie fire, fell the effete paganism of Asia and Africa. Fanaticism and the principle of armed proselytism so condensed the national vigor, bodily and mental, of the Arabians, that they became as a mighty engine in the hands of their leaders, and were hurled like a thunderbolt from Spain to India, overflowing nations as old as history and systems more ancient.

A material empire, so rapidly built, was almost as rapidly dismembered. As their central idea lost its vitality, their unity of purpose ended, and the dismayed nations began to make head against their vigorous foe. But strong was the grasp of Islamism, and its mental empire is yet a wide one. In Alexandria the Moslems conquered the last stronghold of Grecian learning, and their energetic mind, yet distended with a new thought, and freed from the conservative logic of habit, became readily porous to this new mental nutriment. Such was the germ of the singular Saracen enlightenment which is the only light in the gloom of the Dark Ages.

The mental invigoration of Gothic Europe sprang not from Rome alone. While night yet lay heavy upon the European

mind, the spirit of old Greece had kindled the Arabian intellect into a noonday glow. But it was old wine in new bottles. The Saracen genius is diametrically opposite to that of Greece, replacing the moderate, graceful, delicately rounded forms of Grecian thought with the fantastic, wildly imaginative Asiatic cast of mentality.

Yet the thoughts endured intact in their new dress. The works of the great master-minds of Greece became part of the Saracen literature. The doctrines of Aristotle and Plato were taught in the Saracen cities of Spain, together with the results of Arabian science; and ere Spain, in her brutal self-immolation, had succeeded in driving intellect from her shores, Europe was widely leavened with Saracen thought.

But it is less the channels in which the river of thought flows down through the ages that we care to determine, than the original currents which compose this river, and the constituents of the mighty stream. In its flow, in a dissolved state, the thoughts of ages of human existence, carefully wrought out of the pure ore of God's universe of matter and mind, and cast with a lavish hand into the grand stream which moves onward forever, digging its channel deep in the soul of mankind.

Ideas have more force on the human race than all the world's facts. Mental spurs have stirred nations into more vigorous exercise of their innate energies than any of the ordinary strivings for wealth and power. We have seen how an idea flung the Saracen race like a thunderbolt from end to end of the world. The innate force of the people of Arabia was no greater than that of the races they conquered, but, gathered in one grand mass round their central idea, it broke through the divided energies of their foes like a cannon-ball in which every molecule of iron is gathered round a common centre of gravity and motion.

So in the Middle Ages of Europe the mystic supernaturalism of the Germanic races readily lent itself to the insanity of the Crusades, and the force of an idea led wave after wave of the best blood of Europe eastward, only to be dashed to pieces

upon the shores of Asia.\* Had the Crusaders been animated with the real singleness of purpose of their adversaries, and had their leaders laid down ambition when they took up the cross, there would have been a different history of this wild effort of a superstition-maddened continent.

In the career of Napoleon is the most striking modern instance of what one mind can perform by gathering to its aid the energies of a nation. The people of France, having, after centuries of forced subservience to a feudal system, risen in blind fury and cast its incubus fiercely aside, turned against combined Europe, and vigorously flung itself against the threatening wall of aggression. Alexander and Mohammed had already presented examples of the irresistibility of a properly concentrated national force. Still more remarkable are the achievements of Napoleon when we consider the civilized vigor of the nations against whom he fought. France in his moulding hands became a machine, under whose powerful blows Europe fell. The ocean in the west and winter in the east at length overthrew the Corsican giant. But, as a firebrand will kindle a Gehenna, so his vivid thought had stirred all Europe to enlivening action, enabling it to throw off the traces of the chain of feudalism, and emerge, fresh and vigorous, into the glowing sunburst of the present.

All this is world treasure. Into the mighty treasury of human knowledge every nation must pay its tax. Every display of mental energy, even if misdirected, benefits mankind, for the mistakes and failures of the nations often prove more useful lessons than their successes. The various scientific theories now entertained were reached only through a series of hypotheses, each useful in coördinating the results of former experiment, and narrowing the path in which truth should be sought. So the innumerable human attempts at national constitutions, at law, government, language, religion,

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\* Le premier caractere des croisades, c'est leur universalité; l'Europe entière y a concouru; elles ont été le premier événement européen, \* \* \* Rois, seigneurs, pretres, bourgeois, peuple des campagnes, tous prennent aux croisades le meme interet, le meme part.—GUIZOT, page 227.

have, while each more or less ill-directed, supplied the world with a wide range of experience, and by narrowing the chances of going astray, led to juster and more effective systems. Thought has obeyed no rudder in its progress, simply drifting unto the future over the ocean of time. But year by year it has felt the trade winds of human intellect, and in all its vagaries still made headway in the proper course.

Of late years a rudder has been applied to this noble ship. The sciences of political economy and socialism have for their object the collating the results of human thought and endeavor from the beginning of history to the present day, the study of man's failures and successes, the mapping out that dark realm of social condition with all the tracks which have yet been discovered running over its surface, showing into what ocean all streams of thought flow, to what end all roads lead. Only in new paths need man now walk blindly; the past is already mapped and illumined.

Into the sea of oblivion much precious freight has sunk. The ocean bottom is not more thickly strewn with wrecks than is time with man's lost wealth. Yet the present is more deeply the debtor of the past than it is willing to acknowledge. We may claim as our own the modes of applying the physical forces of nature from which have sprung so grand results. But our mental treasures are a heritage from all the past, and however loftily we have built upon them, the foundation was needed ere the building could arise. In language, philosophy, art, science, religion, literature, social economy, government, all those thought-formations to which the printing press has given indestructibility, the past is largely our creditor. For the destructible mechanical results of the present we have ourselves to thank. Only the thought in these inventions is durable. Convulsions of nature may sweep all traces of man's work from the face of the earth. But until idea itself yields to convulsion the world's wealth is secure. From the marriage of man's cultivated energies and the forces of nature a new world would soon arise upon the ruins of the old.

No longer is war the chief channel in which national ener-

gies are concentrated. The mental forces now surpass the physical, and the nations of the present are gaining celebrity from the vigor and success of their campaigns against the dark foe, Ignorance. One by one its strongholds are falling before the onslaught, and step by step the world is pressing towards that horizon over which the sun of a glorious future already shines.

But though physical erections lack the permanence of ideas, and though the various industrial achievements of the past exist but as ruins, yet temporarily the results of industry are world wealth of the most essential character. The hands and brains of mankind are now employed chiefly in constructive purposes, and the effect of the great energy of the human race, when usefully applied, is being displayed in marvellous results.

Centuries in our day do the work of milleniums of past time. Great as are the thought contributions of the ancient to the modern world, and much as we stand indebted to the thinkers of old for the languages, morals, science, and art they have bequeathed to us, we are much more greatly their debtor for the conditions naturally resulting from their long enduring labors.

Among the most important of these conditions is the establishment of free government, in which every man has full privilege of thought and belief, and protection in the results of his labor. Science was fettered until man become freed from the lash of intolerant bigotry. Long has knowledge fought against ignorance and superstition for the production of this result. Not until the present century has the soul of the thinker been in any proper sense loosened from its bonds. Even yet, it has to lift with it, or be crushed under, a weight of ignorant opposition and social proscription at its every movement upward.

Yet, even this partial freeing of man's hands from the fetters of theological and social conservatism has had a most marvellous result. The human soul, like an arrow from a tense bow, long held back by the strong hand of intolerance, has flowed from the loosened string, and is swiftly gliding up the empyrean of progress.

In every branch of science, art, literature, and mechanics, the grandest achievements have been performed. No longer relying on his own hands, man has made the sun, the air, the earth, the sea, his laborers. The powers of nature are bent aside from their ancient course and forced to move through channels prescribed them by this puny creature, their former slave. In consequence, the world of mankind is being rapidly redeemed from error, want, ignorance, disease, and the various ills to which savage flesh is heir, and is rising into the general enjoyment of comfort, luxury even; while the stream of knowledge, rapidly widening and deepening, is adding wonderfully to our powers of achievement, and grandly extending our scope of useful labor and our field of happiness.

Every railroad built, every canal dug, every telegraph wire stretched, every vessel launched, every city erected, every new field sown, is a direct payment into the great treasury of mankind; significant, not only to us but to our descendants, of increased facilities of intercourse, of quicker communication, of more extended commerce, of more various and more comfortable homes, of greater and cheaper food-supplies. What has not been, what is not being done in these directions? On every side around us roars the iron voice of industry, building up far faster than time and change can throw down; and luxuries which were of old the pride of palaces now reside within the walls of hovels. All physical nature is ransacked for its supplies of material, all mental nature for its principles of application, and from a happy union of the two the great present is being formed.

But this is not the only, nor the highest, domain of modern progress. Not mechanics only is advancing, but science and literature are keeping pace with it; and, despite the pitiable displays of human greed and mendacity, the moral sense of the world at large is moving upward. Philanthropy has attained a development never witnessed in former ages of the world. Not the least among human treasures are the numerous colleges, hospitals, and other free institutions built by the accumulated wealth of generous donors. Single souls, big with benevolence, have forced a mitigation of the horrors of

prison discipline, made slavery odious, and relieved the great hives of humanity of much of the misery and crime which naturally gravitate to the shadowy quarters of mighty cities.

War is becoming distasteful to the human soul, not for lack of bravery, but for horror of suffering. The cruel sports of the great cities of antiquity could no more be revived in a modern metropolis than could the mythology of Greece be taught in modern temples. This grand idea of human fraternity is being developed, till the peoples, if not the rulers, of civilized nations, are ready to clasp hands as sons of one father, and decide their disputes by the calm voice of peaceful decision rather than by the bloody settlement of the sword. In this new Republic beyond the seas all nations are becoming one nation, sons of every race and every climate clasping hands and merging into one strange compound, the whole world being being the soil, all mankind the seed, whence is springing the wondrous plant of American citizenship.

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ART. IV.—1. *Vie de J. B. DE LA SALLE.* Par M. LAMY. Paris.

2. *Memoir of the Abbé Lacordaire.* MONTALMBERT.

3. *Œuvres du tres Hon. Frère Philippe.* 1836, 1872.

4. *Les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes en Amerique.* RENE DE SAINT MAURIS.

5. *L'Etat et ses Limites.* Par ED. LABOULAYE.

6. *Le Prix de Boston.* Paris.

7. *Les Frères à l'Academie.* Paris.

In allowing ourselves to be persuaded to insert in our last number an article designed to vindicate the character of Pope Alexander VI., we felt it due both to our readers and to ourselves to say frankly, that we regarded the Borgia pontiff as utterly incapable of vindication. This being our unalterable conviction, we did not hesitate to reject the article alluded to, on having carefully perused it.

In the present case all the circumstances are different. But one word more of Roderick Borgia, before we turn our attention to Jean Baptiste de la Salle, and ask our readers to appreciate the contrast between this particular Abbé and this particular Pope—between the ecclesiastic who was content to live and die an instructor of youth, and the ecclesiastic who, not content with calling himself the vicegerent of Christ and successor of St. Peter, claimed the right to bestow kingdoms or empires on his favorites.

To us a vindication of Alexander VI. seemed no more laudable a task than a vindication of Nero; and certainly we regarded the former performance as not less impossible than the latter. When earnestly requested, however, or rather importuned to open our pages to such an historical discussion, we comply, but beg leave very decidedly, as has been seen, not to adopt the pious view of our correspondent. But in declining to place ourselves in the position of a false witness by presenting to our readers as an infallible saint one whom we regarded much more as an incorrigible sinner, we abstained as much as possible from saying anything which enlightened Roman Catholics should regard as a reflection on their religion or church. And it is but justice to the latter class to say that they have evidently regarded our course in that light.

But unhappily the enlightened form but a small minority in this country, especially in the diocese of New York; and, accordingly, we are as much abused as we could have been had it been our hand, and not the pontiff's own, that mixed the poison of which the Borgia Pope is said to have died. We do not complain of this, however; we are quite aware that it can do us no harm. The Catholic, as well as the Protestant readers of the National Quarterly, cannot but regard it as entirely consistent, that a Catholic organ which gravely recommends the importation into the United States of the holy water of Lourdes, to be sold at two dollars a bottle, for pious purposes, should abuse us fish-woman-like, partly for refusing to accept Roderick Borgia as an immaculate, infallible saint, and partly for our inability to appreciate the profound learning and exalted piety of such "venerated prelatess" a



the Corrigan, the McQuades, etc. Nor is it any fault of ours, if this intelligent class of Catholics think that the conductor of the Catholic organ alluded to would throw mud and garbage at any heretic, though once a heretic himself, for the price of one gallon, at retail, of the holy water of Lourdes, or for one bottle, imperial measure, of Irish whiskey.\*

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\* It is but justice to say, that, so far as we are aware, none of the more respectable class of Catholic journals, such as the *Baltimore Mirror*, *Boston Pilot*, *Philadelphia Standard*, and *Philadelphia Record*, have ever abused us. On the contrary, no Protestant journals have complimented us more highly. We could hardly expect that even such enlightened and liberal Catholic journals would expressly commend the course forced on us in regard to Alexander VI.; but their silence on the subject is commendation enough. It certainly may be regarded as a frank, honest admission of the truth. Then we will take two of the most liberal and most intelligent Protestant journals in the United States as an index of the estimate of the latter class. Thus, the *Philadelphia North American*, whose literary department is always managed by a liberal scholar, says that in our preface we give "expression to the enlightened sense of Christendom, Catholic as well as Protestant." The *Boston Globe*, a journal of a similarly high character, whose literary department is, we are assured, in the hands of one of the ablest and most eminent critics of New England—a well-known author and orator, as well as a critic—disposes of the same article as follows:

"Two articles have given us great amusement, that on 'The Puffing Element in American Literature,' and that on 'Pope Alexander VI.' The latter reminds us of Sydney Smith's comments on Niebuhr's *History of Rome*: 'Have you heard of Niebuhr's discoveries? All Roman history reversed; Tarquin turning out an excellent family man, and Lucretia a very doubtful character, whom Lady —— would not have visited.' In the rehabilitation of historical personages, we are perfectly willing to admit that much injustice has been done to Tiberius, Nero, and Henry the Eighth; but we clung to Pope Alexander as our favorite monster. It seems, however, that this good prelate has been outrageously abused. Hereafter we must look on the Borgias as vigorous philanthropists. We have read the article with roars of—we trust—innocent laughter. There is something in American Roman Catholics which strangely distinguishes them from their Italian brethren who profess the same faith. *They can swallow anything*; the Italian variety of the species is more critical. Still, we patriotically stand by our countrymen, and shall hereafter inscribe Pope Alexander on the list of our saints. There are ugly charges against him, such as licentiousness, incest, and murder, but we concede that the writer in the *National Quarterly* has shown that they are ill-founded. It is to be said that the editor of the *Review*, Dr. Sears, while *consenting to print the article, emphatically repudiates its conclusions*. He, as a thinker and scholar, is inclined to the common opinion of civilized mankind that Alexander was a scamp rather than a saint."

Now we take leave of Alexander VI. and his worthy champion, and turn our attention, for a moment, to the article for which we intend these remarks as an introduction. While we should be heartily ashamed had we permitted ourselves to become a party, even by implication, to the rehabilitation or vindication of Roderick Borgia, we readily admit that too much cannot be said in favor of Jean Baptiste de la Salle. But had we accepted the former as a saint, what impartial, intelligent man or woman could have regarded the present article in any other light than as a "whitewashing" performance?

No doubt, interested parties will tell us that we make this distinction, because the followers of De la Salle have so long been our patrons and friends. But it is not so. We certainly appreciate their friendship, and are thankful for their patronage. But when or where have we been the champion of a sham of any kind, for any consideration whatever? In what instance have we acted, even in our poorest days, like the poor apothecary, who sells the fatal drug destined to destroy, or at least endanger life, for no better reason than that he wants the money? It is not, then, for their patronage, but for their genuine, unpretending worth that we have on various occasions invited the attention of our readers, Catholic as well as Protestant, to the educational labors of the Christian Brothers.

Had patronage or lucre been our ruling motive, we would not have said one word in favor of any Catholic order. But since we have always been willing, nevertheless, to bestow the meed of praise wherever we thought it deserved, if we permitted our opinions to be warped by money, the Jesuits, and not the Christian Brothers, would have been our favorites. For, be it remembered that the good Fathers were the first of all Catholic orders to patronize us. Before we had any personal knowledge of the Christian Brothers, the disciples of Loyola had not only given us patronage but made us magnificent offers. But we soon find that in order to make our fortune in this way, we must have no opinions of our own; we must think as we are bid; we must be ready to believe anything and everything. Above all things we must maintain stoutly that the learning of the Jesuits is unfathomable, and that all other Catholic or-

ders engaged in teaching, but especially the Christian Brothers, are but ignorant poachers on the rightful domain of the Jesuits!

All this being too strong a dose for us, we decline again and again to swallow it; we decline it even when strongly recommended by bishops and archbishops; nay, we decline it at the hands of fair and accomplished ladies, who in their own winning way say in substance "Do, dear Quarterly, it will do you so much good." Having been thus duly warned in every form, of course we have no reason to be either surprised or offended when we see not only one fine Jesuit prospectus after another withdrawn from our pages, but also every other prospectus over which the good Fathers have any influence, until there is not one left—not even that of the great Catholic tailors, whose peculiar mode of tailoring has cost the tax-payers of New York millions, and who with a part of this money have established scholarships at St. Xavier's College, in this city, by way of rewarding those pious and learned men for their kind, softening influence on our politicians!

Other Catholic orders have adorned our advertising pages with their university, college, academy, and seminary prospectuses in a similar manner, and for similar reasons they have withdrawn them in disgust—the period during which the prospectus was obliged to remain in each case being more or less exactly proportioned to the amount of intelligence, enlightenment and liberality of sentiment of the party who inserted it. It would probably be more correct to say that the prospectus was withdrawn in each case more or less abruptly, according as the party who inserted it were more or less bigoted, superstitious, and intolerant, and made their noise in the world more or less like that of empty vessels! \*

But the Christian Brothers, far from attempting to master

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\* We cannot say that we are much surprised to learn that one of the most pretentious of these institutions has recently established a "chair," or shop for the sale, to the faithful, of the holy water of Lourdes. It is almost needless to remark that a student armed with a bottle of this water and a diploma of proper size, countersigned by the *Professeur de Danco*, can hardly fail to make his mark in the world.

or muzzle us, or to dictate to us in any manner, have never to this day attempted to control our views in regard either to themselves or their rivals. In a word, they have never interfered with our criticisms in any way whatever. We have ever found them the friends rather than the opponents of free discussion. Instead of casting around their colleges or academies any mantle of secrecy or mystery, they have always invited Protestants as well as Catholics, not only to be present at their recitations, but also to examine their students. And that they have no prejudice whatever against Protestants is sufficiently proved by the fact that they always employ Protestant professors in their colleges; and if they make any distinction in doing so, it consists in their treating their heretical professors still more kindly and more generously, if possible, than their orthodox professors.

There are one or two other circumstances which we confess have strongly contributed to induce us to prefer the Christian Brothers to all other orders of the Catholic Church. They have never taken part, directly or indirectly, in any part of the world, in persecuting their heretical fellow-subjects or fellow-citizens on account of their heresy, but have ever been as much opposed to such persecution as the heretics themselves. Their hands have never been sullied by any dirty work. Even in New York, where it was scarcely necessary for any Catholic order to ask money, if they would only agree to influence those who do the voting, the Christian Brothers, very unlike their Jesuit rivals, have persistently declined to receive any part of the money of which our citizens have, from time to time, been plundered.

Such are our reasons for presenting the following article, written by a thoroughly educated, liberal-minded Catholic, to the consideration of our readers, without objecting to any part of it, but on the contrary bearing cheerful testimony to the truth and justice of its most essential statements. As we concluded our preface to the Borgia article with a scrap of the Church language, we may be permitted to do likewise in the case of De la Salle. But the signification must be very different, for well may the Catholics of this region exclaim at

the present day, notwithstanding the lofty pretensions of our Jesuits—

Rari quippe boni ; numero sunt totidem, quot  
Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nilii.

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TO THOSE who seek encouragement in the work of improving the condition of mankind, there is no more consoling study than that of the lives of the noble men and virtuous women who have gone before them and led the way. The more marked the influence, the greater pleasure must we feel in studying the causes which have brought it about. When the individual characteristics have fastened themselves upon a system either original or greatly improved, then the subject of such improvement becomes a study worthy the attention of every student of moral science. Under all these aspects we shall find that the world has not failed to give us many and striking illustrations. Previous to the Reformation we could look for such, omitting the ancients, only in the old Church. Since the division of sentiment in the religious world, the same sublime spectacle of men and women who are fit subjects of study has continued to present itself. So long as man remains in his present imperfect condition, so long will his physical wants and intellectual necessities call for the earnest and intelligent efforts of those whom we are justified in calling benefactors of mankind. When these benefactors show their superior ability by attacking the evils of society in their incipency, and by devoting their chief attention to youth, then it is that, in our opinion, they are doubly worthy our attention and study. We believe ourselves justified, therefore, in presenting to our readers for their consideration and admiration, Jean Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the Institute of the Christian Brothers.

“Next to speech,” says Lacordaire, “silence is the greatest power in the world.” In this age of self-laudation, let it be permitted one who has seen the use which has been made of silence, as a power, to employ in favor of those who use it the

still greater power of speech. The cause which the Christian Brothers embrace, the object most dear to their hearts, is one which affects society in its foundation, and which at the present moment is engaging the attention of minds intelligent and interested enough to foresee the dangers which threaten the onward march of Christian intelligence, and the means to be adopted for the arming of the masses against those dangers. Great men appear great only through the work which has procured for them the title, so that, in speaking of the Christian Brothers, we shall be giving the best record of their venerable Founder, of whom, however, we shall have a word to say as we proceed.

Jean Baptiste de la Salle was born at Rheims, France, April 30th, 1651. His family was among the most distinguished in the country, and his name is found connected with some of the most eminent early explorers, or missionaries, in the New World. Marquette the Jesuit was connected with La Salle, Rose de la Salle, a relative of Jean Baptiste, being his mother; and in the French army which aided in securing American independence, there were no less than three Marquettes, who gave their lives for the cause. It will be considered a coincidence that in another way the Abbé la Salle did like his relatives; for, as we shall show, while the former preached in the New World, or fought its battles against the reigning powers, the latter sent his children to preach by teaching, and to conquer, in bloodless but equally honorable warfare, the intellectual supremacy of our land.

To those acquainted with the routine of college life, it were useless to detail the little incidents which marked the years of even so distinguished a student as De la Salle. It may be sufficient to say that he studied so well, and became so prominent an apostle of truth, that he was not considered afterward an unfit instrument to oppose, by the founding of a new order of teachers, the vicious doctrines of that many-sided character, Voltaire, who wrote about the same time, that it was necessary to have the middle or lower classes comparatively ignorant. While yet a student, De la Salle obtained many marks of confidence from the directors of the seminary,

the principal of whom has left this testimony. "M. de la Salle was always a faithful observer of the rules; \* \* \* his conversation was always pleasing and becoming; he seems never to have given offence to any one, nor incurred any one's censure." \* \* \* \*

The man who was afterward to endure such harsh treatment from those who should have most assisted him, became self-reliant at an early age, owing to the decease of his parents. To this early-induced confidence in his own powers, and to the necessary trials attending his early self-direction, we must in great part ascribe that "iron will" which, a distinguished writer says, was the characteristic feature of the subject of this sketch.

Several ecclesiastical appointments were offered De la Salle, so soon as his age would allow, but he chose one in which there would be much less honor than labor. At twenty-seven he became a priest, and from that moment he devoted himself exclusively to the practice of good works, which led to the advantage of his neighbor. Though most affectionate towards his relatives, his sense of justice caused him to give positions within his control, not to his friends, but to the poorest clerics who could prove their claims to superior talent and integrity. His ideas of the priestly state were those since expressed by Lacordaire, a member of one of the most distinguished orders in the Catholic Church. Lacordaire says: "He who is called to the priestly office is he who feels in his heart the value and beauty of souls. Priests are bad or mediocre, simply because they enter upon the office with some other thought than that of self-sacrifice to the mystery of redemption. All other deficiencies may be remedied; nothing will avail if this be wanting."

De la Salle was aware that "there is no ignorance more deplorable than that exhibited in the failure to apply knowledge," and he equally knew that "where faith disappears, there credulity abounds." His object then became to so shape his life that the varied and extensive knowledge he



had acquired should be applied to the most useful purposes ; and that these purposes, as well as the knowledge which directed them, should be founded on faith, that faith without which it is "impossible to please God." His position led him to be a close observer of humanity in its early stages. While assistant pastor, he was likewise charged with the superintendence of an institute for young ladies. Gradually, the conviction grew upon him that the existing methods of instruction were faulty, and being not only a speculative, but likewise practical observer, he undertook to supply, in his own person, the model of an accomplished teacher. All this occurred within a few years of his ordination, for, at thirty, he had entered upon his life's work, and shortly afterwards beheld himself the founder of a religious order, which he established so solidly, that from day to day its good reputation has been on the increase, till now its members, far from being degenerate, are more valued than any of their predecessors. The Christian Brothers rely not on the laurels won by those who have preceded them ; they wear no borrowed wreaths, but in their own living and present work best proclaim the virility of the genius within their organization. Let those who depend for success on the reputation of their ancestors bear in mind the remarkable words of one of Europe's most remarkable prelates: "Without individual worth, the fruit of assiduous labor, the heirs of old races can only bend beneath the weight of their great name."\*

We have said that at thirty De la Salle found himself at the head of a religious order. Let it not be imagined that his work was then completed. The possessor of the mantle of Augustin and Benedict, he had to cross the sea of trouble, encouraged only by the conviction that he had a mission to accomplish. He was at this time passing through an ordeal which, in one way or another, has met every man sufficiently courageous and intelligent to outstep the routine pursued by his neighbors, and to trace for himself some untrodden path to fame—a path consonant with the exalted ideas and the noble

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\* Mgr. Dupanloup, *Haut Educ. Intell.*



heart God had implanted within him. "The Abbé de la Salle," says Jacques Droz, "is to my mind the type of the great modest man; the utility of his pursuit, the continuity of his ideas, the perseverance of his devotedness, all concur to render him one of the most worthy models to be presented to humanity. His statue should be erected by grateful France." M. Vacquier de Traversa thus concludes an epitome of the life and labors of La Salle: "The city of Rouen should feel proud to see elevated in one of her public squares a monument to that man whose life, full of faith and of devotedness, was a work of patience, renunciation, and abnegation."

It is a strange commentary on human intelligence that any attempt at going beyond what has already been done is sure to attract the criticism, if not the ridicule, of the world. The more this movement is directed to the moral amelioration of the race, the more certainly will abuse and vituperation assail the undertaking. Were this the case only where public corruption or official delinquency is concerned, we might pass the matter unnoticed. The fact is, however, that ecclesiastical history offers no exception to the part which spectators are pleased to play in reference to those who undertake some great reform. Thus the Abbé de la Salle found himself attacked on all sides. Priests who should have been the first to encourage him sneered in many cases at his efforts, while others took the liberty of absolutely thwarting his efforts. "Obstacles of every kind were thrown in the way of the establishment of his schools. They calumniated him and instituted legal proceedings against him, \* \* \* and for twenty years he had to struggle against all those obstacles by which ignorance, interest, and bad faith recompense the man of genius for his services to his fellow-men." "A conduct so edifying would have merited eulogiums for any other than De la Salle; but a man whom God called already to a life of suffering and tribulation had early to accustom himself to see his actions ill-interpreted, often even calumniated." \* That he might be in a position abso-

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\* *The True Friend of Youth.*

lutely to convince his followers of his trust in Providence, he gave up his patrimony, distributing 40,000 francs to the poor, and from that time relied entirely on his efforts, blessed as they were, for success. "The famine which raged in 1684 furnished him with a favorable opportunity for stripping himself of his patrimony. \* \* \* Then it was that his disciples, touched by such abandonment to Divine Providence, ceased to be anxious for the future." \* Still, by these examples of abnegation, he had not softened his persecutors. Some called him an enthusiast, with a great deal of self-conceit and considerable strong-headedness; others took the more complacent task of advising him. The Jansenists were very powerful at this time, and, in illustration of the value placed upon the Abbé's influence, it may be mentioned that the offer of a bishopric was made him, if he would join their party.

Another party held that the teaching of youth could be undertaken by somebody else. It was not necessary for the descendant of one of the noblest families in France to undertake so ungrateful a task. Like all men destined for great ends, La Salle allowed these people to talk; he working in the meantime at the object which he had assumed as his life-work. It were useless to say more on the individual characteristics of the Abbé De la Salle. The most practical way to describe a tree, as a producing agent, is to tell of its fruit. In like manner, to talk of a man, who has undertaken a great work for his fellow-men, the best way is to say what he has accomplished, and the means he took to succeed. The life of the Abbé De la Salle was devoted entirely to the education of youth in France, and what more noble object could he pursue? Let us bear in mind that he meant *to educate*, not simply to instruct, the youth of his native land.

To understand the Abbé's views, the safest way will be to employ his expressions and give his sentiments, as contained in his published writings, and then see how far his ideas have been carried out by his successors. There is no difficulty whatever experienced in obtaining a copy of any of the

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\**The True Friend of Youth.*

Brothers' books—a proof that they contain no state secrets, and ample evidence that the Brothers are not afraid to have the lives they lead compared with the rules they profess to follow. We find in the second chapter of their rules that "The Brothers shall have a most profound respect for the sacred Scriptures, and shall pass no day without reading a certain portion of it."\* Here we see that De la Salle met the reformers on their own ground, and asserted that, so far as he and his were concerned, there could be no truth in the assertion that to Catholics the sacred volume was a sealed book.

The object of the Society of the Christian Brothers, the founder states to be "the education of youth," the term youth not meaning, as some pretend, only the poor, or the very young, but all classes of youths that may present themselves for instruction and education. Thus, take the well-known instance which occurred during the life of the founder. King James II. of England, having been obliged to retire into France, was followed by several Irish noblemen with their sons. The latter needed instruction, and though there were other institutions in which the young gentlemen could have been educated, still, after consultation, at the suggestion of Louis XIV., and with the approbation of the Archbishop, it was resolved to give them in charge to the Abbé De la Salle.† Thus, at the

\* So true is this, that studying Bible history and committing the sacred text to memory are obligatory studies in the Brothers' classes. So much for the solution of the "Bible reading" question, which so agitates our people periodically. The Christian Brothers go farther in this respect than any public school in this country.

† Um diese Zeit erhielt La Salle eines Tages den Besuch des Pfarrers von St. Sulpice, welcher im Auftrage des Erzbischofs von Paris zu ihm kam. Dieser Prälat, welcher im Jahre 1700 zur Kardinalswürde erhoben worden war, hegte stets eine grosse Verehrung gegen den Diener Gottes und wollte eine sich jetzt darbietende Gelegenheit benutzen, ihm hiervon einen neuen und offenbaren Beweis zu liefern. Jacob II., der unglückliche König von England, hielt sich nämlich damals gerade in Frankreich auf, wo er bei Ludwig XIV. die gastfreundlichste Aufnahme fand. Als dieser Fürst erfahren hatte, dass 50 junge Irländer, welche durch die Verfolgung ihr Vaterland verlassen mussten, nach Paris gekommen seien, um dort ein Asyl zu suchen, wandte er sich an den Kardinal-Erzbischof mit der Bitte, diesen jungen Flüchtlingen in irgend einer Anstalt ein Unterkommen zu verschaffen;

very outset of his society, he showed conclusively, by his taking charge of the education of these young men, that his order, as a teaching body, was not destined only for the instruction of small children or primary classes. "De la Salle opened the first normal schools for district teachers, and inaugurated classes wherein, on Sundays, between the church services, lessons in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing and architecture, were given to young men or mechanics who desired to complete their instruction."

There are few clearer indications of the liberality of one's views than his expression of what he believes to be the rights of the middle classes on the only days at their command. The Puritan idea is, that listening to a sermon and reading the Bible shall occupy the Sunday, while the more liberal Christian believes that after service the son of labor may amuse himself rationally, or even devote his spare hours to mental improvement. As early as 1705, in which year La Salle opened these Sunday schools, he had better understood and more completely provided for the instruction and improvement of tradesmen than all the unions and associations of our day.

Again we read in a circular letter addressed by a chapter or convention of the order to the Brothers, that though the latter are required to teach gratuitously, this does not prevent them from receiving remuneration when they give the children cares and attentions which, if not rendered by them, would have to be given at home, or elsewhere. Thus it was that the founder himself understood his own regulations, and on such grounds he achieved a success so great that, as his biographers tell us, at his death in 1719, "he left twenty-two houses where reigned the piety with which he had inspired them; and at the Revolution in 1789, the number of houses had increased to one hundred and twenty-one, or an average increase of four new establishments every three years." When the Revolution came, it found the Brothers superior to

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dieser dachte gleich an La Salle und beauftragte den Pfarrer von St. Sulpice, diese Sache dem Diener Gottes vorzutragen.—*Leben des ehrwürdigen Dieners Gottes Johann Baptist de La Salle, StifTERS des Ordens der christlichen Schulbrüder.* Bearbeitet von P. Jos. Aloys Krebs. Regensburg, 1859.

its rage. While ministers of Catholic worship were forced to abandon their churches, being driven, in many cases, on board the hulks, at Brest, awaiting transportation, the Brothers, likewise condemned to banishment, still carried out the spirit of their order by teaching those clergymen the higher mathematics and kindred sciences, which the good fathers were happy to learn. When the Revolution had destroyed itself, many of the Catholic colleges were re-established, but it was thought by the directors of public instruction that the services of the Brothers might be dispensed with in the higher educational houses of the city of Marseilles. The merchants and principal business men, who had been educated by the Christian Brothers, thought otherwise, and by protest and petition so influenced the government of Louis Philippe that their seminary was restored.

We should not wonder that Benedict XIII., a Pope whose memory history honors itself by honoring, considered it one of his grandest acts that he had approved of the Christian Brothers, as a body he foresaw was to do so much good. How deep-laid the foundations of a work which has since assumed such magnificent proportions! Previous to his death in 1719, the Abbé De la Salle had devoted forty years of his life to the laying of these foundations. Excellent as the regulations he had made, and fruitful as he knew these regulations would prove if followed, we can scarcely suppose that he could have formed any adequate idea of the actual extent which his Institute was to embrace. In the natural order of things, the founder could scarcely have anticipated the success which has since crowned his efforts. Could the Abbé, who died with the censure of his bishop hanging over him, hope that the Church would afterward espouse his cause, and that of his followers? Let us remember that the jealousy of his clerical neighbors had gone so far that one paid him in *counterfeit money* for the services of some Brothers; another had appeared among the Brothers, and had promised them all sorts of advantages if they would separate themselves from their founder, and even the most virtuous persons, deceived by the enemies of the holy man, have attributed to him the faults of his disciples.

That his cup of sorrow might be filled, some of his own

followers had abandoned him, while others had gone so far as to refuse him admittance, when travelling on a tour of inspection. When the Abbé's teachers succeeded so well that they excited the anger of jealous rivals, he bowed to the unjust sentence which fined him and his, because they had done their work so well that they had attracted to their humble beginnings the attention of the more opulent classes. All these difficulties had retarded, but not overpowered, the Abbé in his struggles for the improvement of the existing methods of instruction. Hence, as we have said, it would have been natural for the Abbé to have mistrusted the after-success of his undertaking. But such difficulties are the food upon which great minds thrive, and if so, the mind of the Abbé must have been great indeed. Were men to see in advance the success which is to crown their efforts, perhaps the gratification thus afforded would distract them from the great works undertaken. To Christian minds, the conviction that good is to be done, is the only stimulus needed to urge them to its accomplishment. Rising above the mere personal name or reward to be achieved, they lose their personality, which becomes absorbed in their entire concentration upon their assumed task. Such, to our mind, were the motives of the Abbé De la Salle. History, in his case has justified what jealousy sought to disparage. A bishop was among the last who thwarted the designs of the Abbé De la Salle in his lifetime; to-day a bishop is the first to head a list for the purpose of raising a monument to "The True Friend of Youth." Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, had contradicted and spurned the "reformer," as he was called, and had cut the Abbé off from his functions, and within the last month the present Archbishop of Paris has sent 500 fr. as a contribution towards the monument fund, and established among his clergy a committee to collect funds for the same laudable end! \*

Bishops were among the most ready to hear accusations

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\* "His Lordship, the Archbishop of Paris, not content with sending 500 francs as a subscription, has also established a committee of which the Abbé M. Laugier, vicar-general, has been named president." *La Semaine Religieuse*, 21 December, 1872.

against this good man ; within the last few years, one of the greatest theologians of the century, Cardinal Gousset, made two voyages to Rome, there to defend the fair name of the man he had learned to appreciate.

The founding of a religious order implies much more than the generality of readers would suppose. It calls for an insight into certain contingencies of the future which only the keenest perception can detect. This perception the Abbé De la Salle possessed in a remarkable degree. We will mention but one point in the regulations he made : that *no priest should at any time become a member of the Society*, and that it shall at all times be *governed by one of its own members*. The wisdom of this regulation has been demonstrated a thousand times. De la Salle knew, that while prelates or priests may be excellent administrators of a diocese or parish, in which they are not brought into close contact with their inferiors, they might, and probably would, fail completely, in the administration of the affairs of a religious body, or a school containing many classes. So determined was he on this point, that some time before his death he insisted that his resignation should be accepted. It was only when, by the powerful reasons he had advanced, the Brothers became convinced of the wisdom of his proposition, that they consented to accept his resignation.

We cannot do more, in referring to the Brothers in France, than to say that they have accomplished wonders. This success is due to three things. The Institute is a perfect democracy. It makes its own laws, and elects its own officers. Political economists universally admit that intelligence is the first element of success in a democracy, and republics only fail where ignorance rules the hour. The system pursued by the Brothers in teaching is founded upon the experience of thousands of its teachers during nearly two centuries.\*

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\* " The method of the Brothers is all that is most astonishing, and most profoundly wise. It has been tried and improved, perfected and adapted to every need, and it is not the work of any individual experience ; it is that of thousands of practical men—men who have lived and grown old in the work. Men who have died in the service of youth have brought thereto the fruits of their observations and the results of their experience." \* \*

—*Minérve*.



We cannot refrain from inserting here the testimony of Dr. M. Strack, of Brandenburg. The source from which the praise proceeds renders it all the more acceptable. "The Church in France establishes, maintains, and superintends religious orders, the members of which devote themselves unreservedly and exclusively to the education of youth. In this they find their sole happiness on earth, renouncing willingly all earthly goods to live but for the accomplishment of their self-imposed duties. To this class of persons belong especially the Christian Brothers. Whatever praises we have bestowed on the present French educational system, the fullest meed belongs to the schools of the Christian Brothers."

If from Europe we follow the Christian Brothers to America, we shall find the same magnificent report of their work. When liberty was first understood in the United States, then did the Brothers first take a foothold. Le Play says, in referring to Maryland: "This sentiment (religious liberty) was especially insisted upon by the Quakers, who refused it only to Indians remaining in paganism. It also especially existed among the Catholics of Maryland, who refused it to none."

The Brothers rank among the most liberal-minded teachers in the world. Avoiding any criticism of their neighbors, they work on in the modest manner which is their characteristic feature. Leaving questions yet disputed in the domain to which they still belong, the Brothers make it a rule to bear no part in the wrangles which sometimes take place on points upon which, their Church having not yet spoken, men have no right to decide. Limiting themselves to the sphere which is their own, they leave to their more ambitious rivals the task of showing how far charity may be wounded even under the pretext of proving one's superiority. Satisfied with their own success, they prove themselves truly liberal by not annoying, still less endeavoring to thwart the success of others. Thus do they combine within themselves *the simplicity which attracts, the liberality which secures, and the charity and kindness which retain friends.*

When we hear persons who profess to be witty adducing



arguments against this neutral ground which the Brothers take in political and religious discussions, we cannot help recalling a saying of one of Notre Dame's greatest orators: "Gentlemen, God has made you witty, very witty indeed, to show you how little he values the wit of men." Because of this neutrality in such questions the Brothers are highly prized by our most intelligent prelates in America, where work, and not talk, is needed.\* Archbishop Eccleston, in a circular letter addressed to his clergy and people in 1846, says:

"I am grateful to divine Providence to be enabled to inform the Rev. Clergy and laity of the diocese that the Christian Brothers have extended to us the advantage of their holy and admirable institution. Their first novitiate and school have been opened in this city (Baltimore) in Calvert Hall, and are, I trust, but the precursors of many others throughout the United States.

"† SAMUEL, Abp. Balt.

"BALTIMORE, November 13, 1846."

Referring to the above appeal, we may say, to the honor of the Christian Brothers, that neither in this country nor elsewhere *have their hands been soiled by help from those whose assistance could be but an exchange of commodity*—money for influence. The Brothers believe that "the gods help those who first help themselves," and, acting upon this motto, they earn their bread literally by the sweat of their brow, leaving to others, who may so elect, to make life easier by *accepting largesses from those who in their days of prosperity can well afford to divide*. And why have they thus universally eschewed any mixing up with political tricksters? The reason may be found in this, that they imitate their founder, of whom Huguet writes: "If we remark of each of his undertakings, we shall perceive, not without surprise, that he never did anything to procure for himself the protection of the authorities."†

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\* Memoir of Lacordaire. Montalembert.

† "Si l'on fait attention à chacune de ses démarches, on remarquera, non sans étonnement, qu'il n'en fit jamais aucune pour se procurer la protection de l'autorité." (Huguet, sur l'Esperance.)

We may also ascribe this honorable independence to the fact that they live up to the practice of the Gospel, whose tenets they have embraced. "The practice of the greatness of the Gospel," says Lacordaire, "is incompatible with meanness of character. It is well that we should know what we mean by making Christians; whether for us man is the *homo* whom the ancients derived from *humus*, earth, slime; or the *vir*, the man who is something more than earth, who has courage, soul, virtue, *virtus*." \* \* \*

A great part of the success obtained by the Christian Brothers is due to their perfectly understanding the wants of the people. "The height of ability consists in a thorough knowledge of the real value of things, and of the genius of the age in which we live."\* Taking this as a criterion of the ability of the Christian Brothers, let us place before our readers the opinion of a distinguished member of the English Parliament, the late John Francis Maguire:

"These men are the inheritors of one of the best educational systems in the world, and, devoting themselves exclusively to their self-imposed task, their success is necessarily great. Their parochial schools vie with the public schools in the excellency of their teaching—that is, in mere secular knowledge; and their high-schools, academies, and colleges rival any corresponding institutions supported by the State. The proficiency of their pupils in the highest branches of polite learning is the theme of admiration in journals of the most marked Protestant character; and delighted Americans of various denominations admit the service these men render to society through the influence of their teaching on the rising youth of the country. The Brothers are eminently practical; they thoroughly comprehend the genius and the spirit of the American people, and they so teach their pupils, rich and poor, as to suit them to the position they are to occupy in life."

The above is but a small part of a most enthusiastic tribute to the Brothers. To it must be added the endorsement of Archbishop Hughes. Though an Irishman by birth, every pul-

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\* La Rochfoucauld.

sation of his heart beat for the best interests of America. He was, in fact, the pet of Americans of all denominations, who admired his pluck, respected his piety, and consulted his large experience and great common sense. What were his relations with the Brothers? He was one of the first to declare openly that they were to take charge of whatever schools, high or low, which they thought proper, and were fit to teach.\* De Courcey, referring to this, says: "The Academy of the Holy Infancy (now Manhattan College), put in operation in 1853, owes its existences to his devotedness, and crowns the work of the order."

Two other distinguished prelates also openly asserted that there was to be no exception of persons where the education of the people was concerned. The learned Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, and the venerable Archbishop Blanchet, of New Orleans, declared it their wish that the Brothers should take charge of academies and colleges in which the youth of America might receive a complete education. And yet we have heard it repeatedly asserted that the Brothers have gone out of their sphere in assuming the direction of such institutions! The slightest reflection will show the absurdity of the opinion held by some selfish parties belonging to their own Church concerning the Brothers' having charge of academies and colleges. They say that the Brothers were established especially for the poor or middle class. Granted. What does this prove? Christ says in the New Testament, an authority which the cavillers profess to respect, "Blessed are the poor in spirit—for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven;" and in answering the disciples whom John had sent him he replied, "Go tell your master what you have seen. The blind see, the lame walk," etc., "and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Here mention is made particularly of the poor, as having the Gospel preached to them. Shall we then rashly conclude that the rich were not to hear the divine word? The conclusion would be just as logical as that which some seek to found on the assumption

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\* Archbishop Hughes was always one of the most powerful and active promoters of these foundations. (*Les Frères en Amérique.*)

that the Brothers were principally established for the instruction of the poor.

Then why should the Brothers alone be expected to observe in America all those regulations which were made, many of them at least, to suit Europe? Even admitting that the Brothers in Europe teach only common schools, this could not be a reason for their only doing the same in this country. Thus, we know one order that was originally intended never to control parishes, which to-day manages, to the great chagrin of many secular priests, some of the finest districts in large cities. Another, destined to give missions among poor country people, is to-day in charge of the most numerous congregations and the largest churches in America! A rule which works well for all other orders settling in America can scarcely be supposed to be unsuitable to the Brothers alone.

No better rebuke can be offered to those cavillers than the old adage, that "such jealousy is the best evidence of lack of judgment." The champions of liberty everywhere have expressed themselves in favor of the Christian Brothers. No priest ever fought harder for the liberties of the Church than Lacordaire. The last time he raised his voice in Paris was in favor of this order.

No one who understands even the temporal welfare of the masses would feel otherwise than rejoiced at the increase of the number of the Catholic clergy in America. Strange to say, but true it is, that the Christian Brothers' colleges are to-day the great nurseries for Catholic theological seminaries. In a sermon lately preached by a reverend gentleman, who has not the Brothers in his parish, he declared that the subscriptions for the support of the diocesan seminary should now be more generous than in the past, for, since the Brothers have had time to educate a generation, the applicants for admission into the seminary in Troy equal the full capacity of the establishment. We hope we are not betraying any confidence when we say that we have learned, from a most reliable source, that the present distinguished bishop of Philadelphia, Rt. Rev. James F. Wood, D. D., declared, at a meeting held in the Christian Brothers' College of that city, that he did not

wish all the Brothers' students sent to the theological seminary, that some should be kept for the Brothers' novitiate; for, said the learned gentleman, "*we need Brothers quite as much as we do priests.*"

Still the Brothers are far from being either narrow-minded or bigoted in their dealing with students of other denominations. Bigotry in the direction of a college would not be allowed, nor could it exist under that most liberal and generous of men, Brother Patrick, the present provincial of the order. One instance, known to us, will exemplify Brother Patrick's views on this matter. In Manhattan College there is always a large percentage of the students of various Protestant denominations, especially of the Episcopal Church. We have known there young men to be sent regularly, so long as they or their parents desired it, under proper guardianship, to their places of worship on Sunday.\* This happened repeatedly during the presidency of Brother Patrick in Manhattan College. We do not know what the regulations are at present, but we are sure Brother Paulian has been too highly educated, and too long with Brother Patrick—indeed, he is far too enlightened and kind-hearted—to have any but the most liberal views on this subject.† In thus acting they prove themselves the best Catholics, for during the past twenty years the

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\* As the College is conducted by the Christian Brothers, it is presumed that they need hardly assure the public that the utmost care is bestowed on the moral training of all committed to their care.

The religion of the non-Catholic portion of the pupils will not be interfered with in any manner, but facilities will be afforded those whose parents desire that they should attend their respective places of worship on Sunday.  
—*Catalogue, Man. Coll.*

† Our Jesuit friends, with that obliquity of logic characteristic of them, try to disparage everything great or good which they cannot claim as their own work. Thus it is, that because the Christian Brothers persistently refuse to be bigoted, superstitious, or intolerant, the good Fathers pretend that they are not orthodox, and consequently ought not to be sustained by those who are. If Protestant writers commend the good done by the Brothers, the Fathers find in the fact only new proof of their heterodoxy. But when have we, or any other Protestant writer spoken of the liberal-minded, cosmopolitan order of educators in language more highly commendatory than the following

conversions to catholicity have been, not among the ignorant, but among such as have made Protestantism, in one form or another, the study of years. Not only do they interfere in no way with the religious tenets of their students, but among the professors employed by the Brothers, some are non-Catholic, thus verifying another saying of La Rochefoucauld: "He must be truly honest who is willing to be always open to the inspection of honest men." The same will apply to the

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extract from an elaborate article in the Dublin Freeman's Journal, the recognized organ of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland:—

"At present they have schools, academies and colleges, in all the great centres of thought and civilization in the great Republic. In New York alone they are conducting fifteen parochial schools, three first-class academies, and one college (Manhattan), *which is reputed to be among the highest and most successful Catholic seats of learning in the whole States.* A degree obtained in this college is considered by scholars of every religious denomination a *sufficient guarantee for superior talent and learning.* Enjoying all the privileges of a university, Manhattan College is the source of innumerable blessings to the sons of the wealthier classes in the States. The President, Brother Paulian, a gentleman of *great administrative abilities, and the highest literary culture and acquirements,* is a son of gallant Tipperary; he was born in Thurles; and the American Chrysostom, the Most Rev. Dr. Ryan, the Coadjutor Bishop of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, was his school-fellow and townsman. A few years ago it was the high privilege of Brother Paulian, as the President of Manhattan College, to confer the degree of LL.D. upon Dr. Ryan, in grateful acknowledgment of the young bishop's distinguished services to the cause of Christian education, and of the honor and fame which his electric eloquence reflected upon the Irish race. The Provincial of the Christian Brothers in the United States, Brother Patrick, is also a son of the same county, which has been as fertile of brave missionaries as of heroes and martyrs. It would be difficult to name, *either in the old or new world, any Irishman who, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, has rendered during the last thirty years nobler services to the cause of Christian education than Brother Patrick.* *Resolute, high-minded, far-sighted, true as the needle to the pole to every ennobling tradition of his race, he possesses the governing mind, and the calm, unconquerable courage of a Hughes, a Kendrick, or an England.* He is *justly called the father and founder of the Christian Brothers in the United States.*"

Although we readily admit the truthfulness and justice of these commendations, we have never expressed our approbation of the efforts of those gentlemen, or our estimate of their talents and acquirements in language so comprehensive and emphatic. Not, indeed, but we have long felt they deserved it. We have abstained from doing so partly because we mean to be chary of praise, and partly because we know from experience that both the Provincial and the President mentioned much prefer "to do good by stealth," rather than seek any fame.—Ed.

constant invitation which the Brothers hold out to all interested in education to call at any time, either at examinations, or during school-hours, to question their students. Again, this employing of Protestant professors demonstrates that with the Brothers the merit of a professor, as a professor, is the only thing, apart from morality, which weighs in their estimation.

Jealous or illogical people seek to found an argument against the Brothers on the fact that they employ considerable secular help in their colleges and academies. That the Brothers excite such jealousy is the greatest compliment that can be paid them, for we are told that "only such persons as avoid causing jealousy are worthy of it."

Sometimes, say such critics, the Brothers employ those professors in the highest classes. It would be unjust to think evil of all who make these accusations, for we believe some do so in good faith, being impressed with these ideas, by others who should, and probably do, know better. Our view of the case is this: The Brothers are so much sought after by the more intelligent bishops and priests that they are obliged to distribute their numbers in many directions, giving sometimes little more than the required force to direct the establishments, leaving many of the classes to be filled by selected assistants. In many cases, where clergymen cannot receive a full quota of Brothers, they insist that at least some shall be sent to direct the schools. This holds true of parochial schools, as well as of colleges and academies. One of the finest Brothers' schools in the country is managed in this way, there being, we think, but three Brothers out of sixteen teachers. Were the services of the Brothers less in demand, it might be possible to have all the professorships filled by them. Under present circumstances it would be simply impossible. But supposing, as the fault-finders say, the Brothers take the liberty of teaching only certain branches, what does this prove? Why, just this, that *they do not pretend to know everything*, and do not think they can master all that they do not yet know. Being more honest than ambitious, they limit themselves to a certain number of studies which they completely master, leaving to selected professors the remaining branches. Taking

even the malicious view of the case, which is sometimes suggested, that the Brothers are not capable men; even in this case, since they are honest enough to employ outside help when their opponents pretend they are not properly instructed themselves, the very act of so employing assistance prevents a confiding public from being a loser by misplaced (?) confidence.\*

Again, in the highest classes, generally speaking, the number of students is quite small, and if Brothers taught these classes, they would be taken from the care of much larger numbers in the lower classes. We know that the earlier training is the keystone to after-progress. Any one can teach scholars who have been thoroughly grounded, for this preparation awakens love of science and desire to improve. With this preparation, teachers from without, who are competent to teach, but not to manage large numbers, find employment in every way suited to their ability. Where there is but a choice, the Brothers select the hard part of the work for themselves. In any case, then, it is clear that the Brothers act in a straightforward manner, and that their conduct will bear the closest scrutiny.

Since we have undertaken to speak thus far of the Brothers, let us be permitted to say a word about their taking charge of pay-schools of any grade; for some contend that they should not do so. We hold that, so far from going out of their sphere, they act only in keeping with the strictest justice. In the first place, Brothers never open such schools without the consent, nay, without the most urgent appeals and reiterated solicitations of the highest ecclesiastical authorities; hence, those in lower positions should have nothing to say in the matter. Supposing that the Brothers did not, for the first century and a half of their existence, take charge of those

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\* "The least that can be said of the Brothers is that that they are as able as secular teachers. Free from domestic trouble, they consecrate, each day, precious moments, to study. Moreover, they are not obliged, like seculars, to study without a guide, for they find among their Brothers men of ability in various specialties to instruct and in form them in science itself."—*Les Frères en Amérique*.



advanced, or pay-schools, what argument could be founded upon this assumption, against their now controlling such institutions? But the author of a resolution or law must be supposed to understand its spirit. Now, it is known that the Abbé De la Salle maintained his first novitiate by the proceeds from such schools. In whom should we have the greater confidence; in the physician who for the first twenty years of his profession limits himself to the study and practice of the elements of his calling, or to the charlatan who, at the very outset, pretends to cure all the ills to which flesh is heir? It would likewise be next to useless, save for personal gratification, that the Brothers should, as they are required, devote themselves to earnest and continued study, if they were only to teach primary schools. The same would apply to pastors who are placed in country parishes—should they limit themselves to the study of the parable of the husbandman, or the lesson of the vineyard? What of Copernicus, who in his country parish went so far beyond the needs of his parishioners that he afterwards revolutionized the existing system of astronomy?

Again, in this country, where the Brothers have to fight their way through every sort of opposition; where they have to support their own normal school, and where they have so persistently refused questionable aid, by what other means, save by their academies and colleges, could they meet the great demands upon them? It certainly could not be by means of the miserable pittance which they allow themselves in their free schools—a stipend so small, that were it not, we are told, for the academies generally attached to them, the Brothers could not meet their expenses. Who, with any sentiment of fair-play in his nature could object to so honorable a method, or course of action?

It is a well-ascertained fact that all religious bodies, not employed in teaching, and several that are, give the most unequivocal testimony to the Christian Brothers. Thus, the Rev. F. Müller, one of the most prominent members of the Redemptorist Society, is not afraid to declare in his "Public School Education," that "These men (the Brothers) are pro-

foundly learned in all the sciences. They have abandoned home, friends, and have devoted themselves for a scanty support to the education of youth." The Abbé Gaume, the learned author of many works, and one of the most powerful writers on education, says: "God came to the succor of the faith by many religious congregations, especially that of the Christian Brothers." "Their founder," he says, "drew up rules far superior to those given by men of the world for the instruction of youth." The most prominent member of the Augustinian order in America, the Very Rev. P. E. Moriarty, in a recent article, bestows like praise on the Christian Brothers. One of the most learned of the clergy in the archdiocese of New York, a student of the Christian Brothers, and a most accomplished historian and antiquary, declared at a meeting of the Christian Brothers' schools, in Steinway Hall, in presence of various members of religious orders: "If we wish to save our children from the atmosphere of vice by which they are surrounded, let us educate them as Christians in a Christian school, taught by the Christian Brothers."

Dr. Barnard says: "Any description of popular education in Europe would be incomplete which would not give prominence to the Institute of the Christian Brothers, including in this term the earliest professional school for the training of teachers in Europe."

The opponents of the Christian Brothers pay them, indirectly, the greatest compliment, for they move heaven and earth, and then think the trouble well repaid if they can secure a few boys from the Brothers' common schools. Thus, without knowing it, do they give an eloquent testimony to the efficiency of the Brothers as teachers.

We had almost forgotten a terrible accusation which we have frequently heard made against the Christian Brothers:\*

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\* Une preuve du cas que l'on fait de leur enseignement et de leurs livres classiques, c'est qu'en 1848 plusieurs furent l'objet de contrefaçons; ainsi leur *Traité d'Arithmétique*, l'*Abrégé de l'Histoire du Canada* et l'*Abrégée Géographie*. Tout le monde s'accorde à dire qu'ils ont rendu un très-grand service à l'instruction par leurs livres classiques, bien rédigés et parfaitement adaptés à l'intelligence des enfants.—*Les Frères en Am.*

"They write no books." Well, the fact is that they have too much active work on hand to allow them time for book-making. It is false, however, to say that the Brothers write no books. Their present Superior-General has written no less than eight or ten different volumes, which have been translated into nearly all the modern languages. The Brothers in France have the best series of school-books ever published, and which American publishers would do well to study. Their system of drawing, as we have seen, is declared superior to all other methods, this having been decided at the late French Exhibition, where, as the president of the jury announced, the Brothers had saved the honor of France in the department under which drawing was classed. The Brothers in Canada have published, or are now publishing, all their own books. The Brothers in the United States have not as yet published any series of text-books, though they have issued several independent volumes. But what would be proved against the Brothers did they never publish a book? Do our best physicians, those having immense practice, publish many books? Is this department not rather taken up almost exclusively by the quacks and charlatans who infest the land? So much for the question of publishing books.\* Thus we see that the slightest investigation of those high-sounding charges made against the Brothers, as a literary body, fail, when subjected to the logic of facts. Far from envying their neighbors in this or any other respect, the Brothers rejoice when they find the work in which they engage successfully pursued by others. Says the *Figaro*: "The Brothers claim no monopoly, not even that of self-sacrifice. Liberty to all, even to those who wish to give their blood and their vigils for their country, claiming in return only the right to do good."

Before concluding this paper, a few words may be allowed, in a journal which, without being the organ of any denomina-

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\* Besides, many works are published by Brothers in France, under their own names, among which may be mentioned the learned and venerable works of Brother Ogerien on Mineralogy, reviewed in a former number of this journal. Within the last six months no less than four or five books have been issued by as many different Brothers.

tion, is open to the utterances of any seeking the improvement of mankind, on what many consider an objectionable feature in the Christian Brothers' method : we mean the prominence given to the religious instruction of their students. The experience of every day shows that instruction without religious training or education is a danger, rather than a blessing, to the members of a state or country. We have elsewhere quoted the words of Jules Simon on the subject. He will not be accused of partiality to religious views.

Shall we then say that our children, our boys and girls, our young men and young women, shall not be instructed? Far from us be such a conclusion. But we will say: Let us have secular instruction, but not secular instruction alone. Let the tree of knowledge have for its roots the principles of religious truth. Thus we shall see on all sides the leaves of good example, and the still more acceptable fruit of good works. Let religion and science go hand in hand. What God has united let no man put asunder. Science is an emanation from the divinity. Let it then be subservient to, but accompanied by, its mistress—religion. Thus shall the world go on progressing, and thus shall we see carried into practical effect the result of the perfected system of the Christian Brothers, the disciples and followers of the ABBE DE LA SALLE.

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ART. V.—1. *Commentaries, Critical, Philological and Geographical, in Sundry Newspapers.* By the learned PRO-  
VOST and FACULTY of the University of Pennsylvania.  
Philadelphia: December, January and February, 1873.

2. *A "So-Called Latin Letter," stamped with the Cabalistic or Hieroglyphic initials N. Q. R., and long supposed to be the production of an ancient Brahmin, but discovered recently by a learned Graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, after much profound research, to be the work of a spiteful and libellous Savage of the Bog species.*  
New York: 1871.

3. *An Essay on the Art of Growing Rich by DEGREES, as practised in the middle of the Nineteenth Century among the people called Quakers, with some Digressions on Natural History, Equipments, Gunnery, Materia Medica, etc., etc.* Manhattan: MDCCCLXXIII.

WE trust it is superfluous for us to say that it is in no boastful spirit we ask our readers of the Keystone State, especially those of the good Quaker City, whether our peculiar mode of treatment has not proved remarkably efficacious in the case of their most venerable patient. That it has made the old lady feel sadly uncomfortable for a month or more, is very true. It is also true that this is a much longer period of suffering than we had calculated upon. We had hoped that the effects of the cantharides, lancet, ipecacuanha, aloes, etc., would have all passed off in one week at farthest.

But be it remembered, in justice to us, that our venerable patient neither allowed us to feel her pulse, nor see her tongue. Since she thus concealed from us some of her worst symptoms, we think we may be excused for having taken it for granted that her case was not so serious as unhappily it has proved to be. Nothing is better understood among pathologists than that patients who are much debilitated from

chronic disease cannot bear much of what some practitioners still call the antiphlogistic treatment. If from an imperfect diagnosis this treatment is carried to excess, there is danger that it will kill the patient; at best, in proportion as the constitution is weak, it is slow in recovering from the commotion produced in the system by such agencies as cathartics, scarifications, emetics, etc. This will account for the unusually protracted writhings of our illustrious Pennsylvania patient—writhings which, we trust we need hardly say, moved the bowels of compassion of none to a deeper pitch of tenderness than they did ours.

As for what the friends of the patients, or the patients themselves, say of the physician when alarming symptoms supervene as results of a certain mode of treatment, no sensible practitioner who understands his profession would be offended at it, or, indeed, take any notice of it. Hippocrates himself has been abused in such circumstances; especially in those in which the patient was rich, "venerable," and of the feminine gender! If, only to please a patient of this character, her friends and retainers are apt to wax indignant, and even call hard names; still more readily will those do so who claim to understand and practise the healing art themselves. Accordingly, who has not heard such comments as the following? "It was that last dose that did the mischief." "Why, he's no doctor—he's only a quack." "The fellow doesn't know how to write his own prescription—he has to employ somebody to write it for him!" "Oh, that's his own; but don't you see what horrible Latin?" "A blister, indeed, and to so delicate a part!" "But only think of scarifying the back of a lady upwards of a hundred years old!" "What a *savage*!" "Poor, dear grandmamma! what an outrage! If anything was the matter with the venerable lady, all she needed was a dose of salts and a dish of gruel, with perhaps some paregoric." "Grandmamma herself is not to blame for what she has suffered, for she has always had a laudable horror of those foreign ignoramuses." "That's so; she would call in none, if she were dying, but natives of our own *county*; at least they should belong to the State of Pennsylvannia." "Well, in New

York, too, there are some respectable physicians; but do you know this fellow has been exposed many a time for malpractice? Scarcely two years have elapsed since, in his ignorance and stupidity, he nearly caused the death of several eminent and worthy citizens. It is well known, for instance, that Messrs. Sweeny, Tweed, and Hall, have never been the same since he forced his cursed drugs down their throats. They were then, as so many of ourselves are to be, 'leaders and guides of their fellow-men;' but what are they now?" "Ay, and the fellow was brought up for his malpractice on them, and only that the law is so badly administered in New York, where would he have been to-day for his savage treatment of those once powerful but now sadly broken-down, consumptive citizens?"

Need we say that it is only the real quacks who ever take notice of comments like these, while the febrile condition which gives rise to them continues to exist? The physician, properly so called, calmly awaits the issue. He gives his medicines full time to operate. Even then, if he makes any reply, it is in no anger; and if he has any emotion of sorrow, it is for those from whom he had expected better sense and more decency.

And this has been precisely our feeling during the storm brought on our devoted head by the few pages we devoted in our last number to the University of Pennsylvania. At least a score of articles—all cut from Philadelphia papers—have been enclosed to us, each bespattering us with more or less abuse. It seems that some papers, not content with assailing us once or twice, for our grievous turpitude in this matter, have done so several times, presenting to their readers, day after day, "more last words"—the last of all being evidently intended in each case to be the most severe on us. Happening to visit Philadelphia, in the midst of the storm, we enter one of the street cars. We hear a newsboy lustily crying out with other things, "Great attack on the National Quarterly." We purchase a copy and read, "The Savage Quarterly and our Venerable University," etc.; in another we read, "Dr. Sears no Latinist;" in another, "Our venerable University vindi-

cated from the malicious attack of savage Sears;"\* in another, "Our learned and able Provost proved to be the right man in the right place, in spite of foreign libellers," etc. A friend remarks, with a good-natured smile, while significantly running his eye over an "Ulster" which nearly enveloped our whole person from head to toe, completely fortifying us against even the lowest depth of the mercury: "It must be confessed you look

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\* It is some consolation that even in our condition of savagery we shall have tolerably respectable company. When Ovid was in exile among the Scythians, he exclaimed, just as we might have exclaimed when addressing the University of Pennsylvania in Latin: "I am a barbarian *here, because I am not understood by any.*"

"Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli."—*Trist.* v. 8, 8.

Byron, in his "Lament of Tasso," makes the author of *Gerusalemme Liberata* mourn over

"The mind's canker in its savage mood."

and again, further on

"And I can banquet like a *beast of prey*,  
Sullen and lonely, crouching in the cave  
Which is my *lair*, and—it may be—my grave."

Pope was generally regarded as a tolerably clever writer and passable scholar until he wrote his "Dunciad;" but the subjects of that famous poem discovered then immediately, that, far from having either talent or learning, he was a stupid, ignorant fellow! Thus we read: "He hath undertaken to translate Homer from the Greek, *of which he knows not one word*, into English, *of which he understands as little*," (Dennis, *Rem. on Homer*, p. 91.) "Mr. Pope is an open and mortal enemy to his country and to the *commonwealth of learning*," (ib.)

Dryden, also, was admitted to possess some talent and intelligence until he commenced to expose the shams of the day. But all at once, then, he became a "savage." Accordingly, we read as follows: "In the poem called *Absalom and Achitophel*, are notoriously traduced the King, the Queen, the Lords, and Gentlemen, *not only their honorab e persons exposed*, but the whole nation and its representatives, notoriously libelled. It is *scandalum magnatum*, yea, of Majesty itself." (*Whip and Key*, 4to, printed for R. Janeway, 1662, *Pref.*) As to his learning, we read thus: "Mr. Dryden was once, I have heard, at Westminster School. Dr. Busby would have whipped him for so childish a paraphrase. Nay, the meanest pedant in England would whip a lubber of twelve for construing so absurdly." (Milbourn on *Dryden's Virgil*, 8vo, 1691, p. 2, *et seq.*) "A camel will take upon him no more burden than is sufficient for his strength, but there is another *beast* that crouches under all." (*Whip and Key*, *Pref.*)



somewhat like a savage with that coat, but like a *comfortable* savage." "But that, although Irish frieze, has been made in the Modern Athens. Simmons, of Oak Hall, is the artist who fashioned it." "At all events, I would suffer to be called a savage at every corner of the street, especially if travelling such weather as this, for so excellent a protection as your Ulster affords. I only wish our great University could so effectually protect her venerable hide; then we should not soon again have so melancholy an illustration of the fable of the 'Boys and the Frogs,' as we are just now witnessing."

Our curiosity having been thus excited, we proceed to glance over the files of the leading journals. Seeing that we had never received a larger number of warm greetings in Philadelphia than on this occasion, we conclude that, after all, there must be some Philadelphia editors who had found extenuating circumstances in our case. At all events our researches through their files for the month of January reminded us very forcibly of the following incident: In a certain village some distance off, there lived a very pompous family. The heir, a youth of fifteen, and his mother, were particularly lofty and scornful in their ideas. A lady of the same village, who had more taste and discernment than wealth to boast of, said to her son, another lad of about the same age: "Henry, just give that Mark Antony Smith a box on the ear when you get a good opportunity." Henry, being a dutiful boy, did not wait long, but, instead of hitting Mark Antony on the ear and making that organ still longer than it was, he hit him on the nose, producing quite a respectable stream of blood. Mrs. Smith, brimful of indignation, and breathing nothing but vengeance, hastens to complain of Henry to his mother. "Why, can it be possible, you scoundrel," says Mrs. Jones, "that you would make such an attack on Mark Antony Smith, the son of the most respectable lady in the whole parish, not to mention her ancient family?" at the same time seizing a bulrush which looked like an osier, and applying it with great energy to the jacket of the culprit. "But, mother, didn't you tell me? You bid me give him a box on the ear, and that's all I was going to do; but when he tried to run away, his nose ran against my fist!"

The scene that followed may be more easily imagined than described; but it was not half so ridiculous as that presented by the learned Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, reinforced by their *alumni*, throughout the month of January, and we know not how long afterwards. First, we were glad that we had put a good job in the way of our Philadelphia *confrères*, for just then business in other departments seemed rather slack. Indeed, we felt somewhat as St. Paul did when he said, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have I freely give," etc. The quotation may not be entirely accurate; but accuracy in quoting Scripture can hardly be expected from a "savage." Be this as it may, we soon learned that whatever benefits our friends obtained or were promised, they earned them but too well. Thus, to-day the citadel of the Press is besieged by professors and *alumni*, and, the commandant being unfortunately absent, a *coup de main* was "fully apprehended." To-morrow, the fortress of the North American is completely beleaguered; but Gen. McMichael is too much of a veteran to allow his equanimity to be much disturbed by loud talk and swagger, and accordingly he takes no further notice of the affair than to tell his adjutant, while trying to suppress a smile, to read a part of the first chapter of Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput. The adjutant read the following with as grave a face as he could, and gave no further attention to the besiegers:

"I heard a confused noise about me," says Gulliver, "but in the posture I lay I could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which, advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost to my chin; when, bending my eyes downward, as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands and a quiver at his back. In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind and (as I conjectured) *following the first*. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud that they all ran back in a fright, and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground."

The next evening, trenches deep and wide are discovered

before the redan of the Bulletin. The following day quite a large squad of sappers and miners are found busily at work before the redoubts of the Inquirer. Unhappily, in the two latter cases the commandants had gone from home, and delegated their authority to a pair of nervous old ladies who, although naturally kind and humane as well as civil, were, of course, easily frightened; and so the moment the doughty Provost-marshal made his appearance, mounted on his well-known sweet-voiced charger, they surrendered at discretion, and agreed to throw any amount of missiles, however nasty and unsavory, at the enemy. On the fifth or sixth day, what seem to be elaborate earthworks begin to appear before the outposts of another journal, but a veteran, generally acknowledged, even by his enemies, to be the greatest captain of The Age, examines those earthworks with his field-glass, and, finding that they are composed chiefly of mud and froth, he orders out a corporal's guard, with instructions only to laugh at the besiegers!

Indeed, to their honor be it mentioned, most of the editors held out as long as possible. Nay, there are some who, we believe, have never surrendered to this day. But, even in the cases of those who surrendered at discretion, there are strong extenuating circumstances which we beg leave to urge in their favor. As intimated above, in another form, reinforcements were constantly arriving until every office was completely invested, the combined squadrons being commanded by the redoubtable Provost Stillé, whose ultimatum was found, "when rightly apprehended," to be a thing of "startling significance." Even then all did not, as we have seen, surrender together; some held out a whole week after the rest. In each case there was a parley before the *articles* of war were drawn up. 'First editor: "What do you want us to do?" Provost: "Say, 'if it be true that we have here and now a true University,' Sears is a savage and an ignoramus for mocking at the said venerable University. Give his so-called National Quarterly fits, and see that 'the people of Philadelphia are fully impressed with the belief' that it is only a horribly stupid publication." Editor: "Surely you would not want us to stultify

ourselves. For thirteen years we have been in the habit of recommending the careful perusal of articles in this Review, especially its expositions of *shams* and *frauds* all kinds; and in every instance we have learned subsequently that the articles so commended—and commended for their learning and research, as well as for their fearlessness and impartiality—were written by Sears himself. How then can we apply such terms as you propose to Review and editor for what we must admit, after all, *entre nous*, is but an illustration of the principle of free thought?"

The learned Provost, feeling that this is not the way to aid him in fitting his pupils to be "leaders and guides of their fellow-men," does not deign to reply, but withdraws abruptly and enters another office. Second editor: "Very happy to see you, Mr. Provost. I see you have been treated in a most rascally manner. But what do you think of your defenders? It seems to me that there is no prayer our venerable University ought to offer up more fervently just now than 'From our friends, good Lord, deliver us!'" Provost: "That's so; 'if rightly apprehended,' there has been a collusion. But can't *you* do the thing right? You know I was always your friend 'in this community,' and I'm ready to be your friend *here and now*." Editor: "But what am I to do? Those fellows you have gone to first have spoiled the whole affair." Provost: "You can defend my English, anyhow. You must have seen it often enough quoted in your columns, in advertisements in praise of Philadelphia books. This, however, won't do much good except you attack Sears. You can say he is an impudent, sacrilegious, savage fellow, and worse than that. Don't you know that we issue *degrees* to all deserving people, especially to friends of our beloved University, and, now that it is 'a true University,' our diploma will be more valuable, you know, than ever; your friend Prof. Bathus can tell you that the demand for it has largely increased since we got into our splendid new buildings, and began to give instructions in 'all the departments of human knowledge.'" Editor: "Yes; but it is necessary to be careful. Everybody knows that our legislators

at Harrisburg are very fond of *degrees*. Then, if the thing were much talked of, it might be said that the \$100,000, so handsomely voted to our venerable University last fall, was the price of degrees; and this might suggest to malicious people a comparison with the Credit Mobilier, which was galvanized by the same legislators for the consideration of only \$50,000, and their chances." Provost: "I hadn't thought of that; but you know I have spoken in my celebrated window speech of 'the far-reaching results of *what has been done to us and to those who are to come after us.*'" Editor: "Yes; that was very fine indeed; but I fear it won't help us much in our present dilemma." Provost: "Well, but anyhow, you can attack Sears's Latin letter, for it seems it is his, after all. Prof. Onos advised me first to deny that I received it, and I did so for more than a week. Then Prof. Alazon advised me to say I had torn it up and thrown it into my waste-basket. This plan too I tried; but I saw it did not satisfy all. Even the students made insinuations which, when I rightly apprehended them, were very hurtful to my feelings."

Third editor: "My opinion is that the best thing you can do now, is to come out boldly and condemn the Latin letter in your official capacity, as awfully bad. This plan, you will readily see, has several recommendations. There is no need for you to point out any of its defects, but attack the whole thing in the lump, and of course we will fully endorse the worst you say of it. The great advantage of this plan is that for every one who can tell whether you, or we, are right or wrong in our condemnation, there are at least five thousand to whom good or bad Latin is as great a mystery as the grace of God which passeth all understanding. Of course these five thousand would side with you; and though one should sneer and pretend Sears was right in mocking at our venerable University and at your English, the overwhelming majority would be in your favor; so that your fame as a learned and literary man would be greater than ever, if that were possible."

This had the desired effect, for after the battle had raged for twenty-seven days, all on one side—the enemy having remained quietly ensconced in his intrenchments—on the twenty-

eight day, a day memorable "in the history of the community in which we live," the redoubtable Provost enters the field again mounted on his favorite charger Onos of the sweet voice, and armed with a mutilated copy of that horrible Latin missive. The onset of Achilles, backed by his whole army of Myrmidons, was a mere tempest in a tea-pot compared to this.

Hereafter, accordingly, we must try to be serious—at least as much so as the nature of the case will admit. Most of the intelligent people of Philadelphia have found it difficult to understand what a Latin letter written off in New York by a "savage" has to do with the sort of *English* taught in the University of Pennsylvania. Assuming the Latin to be bad, does the bad Latin of a "savage," or even of a civilized man, make the bad English of a learned Provost, or venerable University, anything the less objectionable?

But let us see what this Latin affair is. First, it is denied that the epistle alluded to was written by us at all. We merely got somebody to write it for us. This being the case, why should the learned Provost answer it, though sufficiently prompt in answering English letters? It seems this did not satisfy many, so it had to be discarded. The next plan is to deny that the letter had been received at all. This in turn gives way to that of admitting that it was received, but immediately consigned to the learned Provost's waste-basket for the most inglorious use. For some days this seemed a happy idea. But, Quakers are not merely shrewd, honest people. Sometimes they are rather sarcastic; their sneers are rather cutting, even to the faculty of a venerable university. Nay, even the trustees begin to shrug their shoulders, and their lower lips are seen to yield very decidedly to the law of gravitation. The Provost scratches his head for the twentieth time; and all of a sudden it is discovered that the "dead language" performance was the work of no other than the "savage" himself! What is queerer still, if possible, it is discovered just at the same moment that the Latin is no Latin—only "so-called!" And this is demonstrated as clearly as any proposition in Euclid by the fact that "a graduate" has, after unwearied researches, detected two typographical errors in our article—one

making Quintilius, Quintilian, the other making "visitabam," "visitabat." That is, in the first the letter *a* is substituted for *u*; in the second, the letter *t* is substituted for the letter *m*. No one competent to judge had any difficulty in understanding that it was Quintilius, the contemporary of both Virgil and Horace, who was meant—the same of whom Horace says in his *Ars Poetica*—

Quintilio si quid recitares, Corrige, sodes,  
Hoc, aiebat, et hoc; melius te posse negares,  
Bis terque expertum frustra; *delere* jubebat,  
Et malè formatos incudi reddere versus.  
Si *defendere delictum*, quàm *vertere*, malles:  
Nullum ultrà verbum, aut operam insumebat inanem,  
Quin sine rivali *teque et tua solus amares*. \*—438 *et seq.*

He, of whom the poet speaks thus, was precisely what we designated him, the writer who of all those of the Augustan age, was most distinctively a critic, whereas Quintilian was not a critic at all, in the sense in which we used the term, but a rhetorician who flourished more than a century later. In the original quoted from Horace, the name was printed correctly, because it was taken directly from a book, whereas, in the two instances in which *a* is put in place of *u*, the compositor had only our scrawl.

But supposing the fact had been different—that we had made Virgil weep over Quintilian instead of Quintilius, what then? It is known in most high schools, as well as universities, if not in the University of Pennsylvania, that even in some of the finest works of art there are gross anachronisms. Thus, for example, Tintoret, in his admirable painting of the Israelites gathering manna in the desert, has armed the Hebrews with guns. We have not heard that anybody has called Albert Durer a "savage" because, in his painting of St. Peter denying Christ, he represents a Roman soldier as smoking a pipe of tobacco! But these, we may be told, were not writers.

\* "If you recited anything to Quintilius he would say, Correct, I pray, this and this. Did you deny that you could do it better, having tried in vain twice or three times, he would tell you to blot out and again apply your crude verses to the anvil. If you chose rather to *defend than to admit a fault*, he wasted not a word, or fruitless effort more, but that you alone might admire both yourself and your productions without a rival."



This objection will hardly hold in the case of Schiller, who, in his noble historical drama "Piccolomini," speaks of "a lightning-conductor"—a thing not invented till one hundred and fifty years later. Doubtless it was because Shakespeare was not educated at some such learned institution as the University of Pennsylvania, but at such, perhaps, as Paddy Burns' school in the bogs, that in his "Coriolanus" he speaks of Alexander, Cato, and Galen as familiar to his hero, although even their great-grandmothers were yet unborn! But it is sometimes denied that "Coriolanus" is the work of Shakespeare. This, however, cannot be said of the fine tragedy of Julius Cæsar, in which Cassius speaks of a *clock* striking. Still less can it be said of "King Lear," in which we read that Gloster must not be compelled to the use of spectacles, things not invented for ages after his time!

So much, then, for our stupidity, ignorance, etc., in regard to Quintilius or Quintilian, or both, assuming that we must plead guilty to that lamentable anachronism. Now, a word as to the paragraph from our Latin letter. This we had to send back to the printer half a dozen times. Finally, seeing that there remained only the difference between *bam* and *bat*, we said to ourselves, "Well, let it go. It will be some time before Provost Stillé can tell the difference. In the meantime, perhaps, the thing is better as it is, for if "bam" were repeated within so small a compass, the learned Provost might take offence, supposing we meant so vulgar and heinous a thing as to *bam* him!

But before saying anything more of the Latin stumbling-block, we will quote a passage from the first editorial "vindication" of the University of Pennsylvania and its learned Provost, that we have seen. Thus, in the Press of January 17, we find an article which closes as follows:—

"Dr. Sears prints several letters from this city, calling upon him to give his attention to our University as he has to other similar institutions, and telling him that there is much about it which demands censure. Dr. Stillé, in declining to permit Dr. Sears to hear the recitations, *made, we think, a mistake*, though it is probable he could justify himself. It must be understood that but one side of the case has been heard. As to Dr. Stillé's knowledge of Latin and Eng-



lish, Dr. Sears proves nothing. The speech he gives as an example was *as much the work of a newspaper reporter as of the Provost of the University*, for it is clipped with acknowledgment from the *Ledger*, and it is not even pretended that it is given in Dr. Stillé's own words. Dr. Sears' Latin epistle *may never have been received*. It is *not claimed that it was by the writer, who only says he sent it*. But *if received*, that it was not answered does not evidence that it was not read and understood. There can be no fair objection to a just criticism of the University. Its best friends *long since became aware* that so long as it was located at Ninth and Chestnut streets. in the very heart of a great city, *its powers were contracted*. It was possible to exercise very little control over the students, and the students themselves found it difficult to understand their true position at college, surrounded as they were on every side by the daily traffic, the life, and the amusements of Philadelphia. Doubtless the University *is not the institution it should be*. We *do not claim* that it has been, but we submit that the time for such adverse criticism as that of the REVIEW has been badly chosen. The University has just occupied its new buildings; has just secured the accommodations the lack of which it has suffered from for years. It has started upon a new course, and it should be allowed a trial before it is condemned. If, however, the REVIEW's paper serves to spur the energies of the faculty, *no Philadelphian will complain*. The spur may not be needed, *but greater system and activity can do no harm*."

Only a few days before the publication of this defence, the critic of the Press—a gentleman who had long occupied a similar position on leading journals of London and New York—had given an elaborate review of the same National Quarterly, commending it, as usual, in the most complimentary language.\* But even in the defence just quoted, what allegation of ours is disproved? All that is even *denied*, is that against the English and Latin of Provost Stillé. In order to vindicate the former, the blame of bad grammar is thrown on a "newspaper reporter;" but if the reporter thought it worth while to speak out on the subject, we have good reason to know that he could show that, instead of having injured Dr. Stillé's

\* A brief extract or two from this may not be uninteresting, as showing the light in which the Literary editor of the Press, who has nothing to do with politics, viewed the whole "savage" affair:—

\* \* \* "Under the quaint but taking head of 'The University of Pennsylvania and its New Windows,' we find some *amusing banter* respecting one

speech, he had considerably improved it. But the Press says, "it is not even pretended that it is given in Dr. Stillé's own words." This is a mistake, for it is directly and formally quoted in the Ledger exactly as we have given it. Indeed, the only error the honest reporter seems to have committed is that of affixing M. D. to the name of Provost Stillé, for several Philadelphians have written to us to say that that functionary knows still less about medicine than he does about Latin or Greek, and is no more entitled to M. D. than he is to F. R. A. S.

The reader will also observe what the Press says about the Latin letter; for just then the plan was, as we have shown above, to maintain stoutly that it was a thing gotten up to order, since nobody who was such a "savage" as to call into question the learning of the University of Pennsylvania and its discreet Provost could be supposed for a moment capable of such a performance. However, it seems the Press article was not satisfactory, partly, we understand, because it declined to call us hard names, and partly because it could entertain for a moment the barbarous idea that the spur (only think of the cold steel) should be applied in any contingency to so venerable a hide!

So far as we are informed, the North American thought,

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of our own local institutions. \* \* \* \* The reply was, that the Doctor could be present at the commencement exercises in June, when the public were admitted, which was *not* what was required. After the interval of a year the Provost was again addressed, and the prompt reply was, that 'he would be pleased to show us all the class-rooms, the lecture-halls, etc. In short, he would show us every courtesy, except to allow the recitations to be heard by one who might possibly make unfavorable criticisms upon them.' Then the pertinacious correspondent wrote a letter in Latin, which the Provost has not answered. \* \* \* 'The Puffing Element in American Literature' is a deservedly severe criticism upon two volumes, *Manuals of American and English Literature*, intended to be text-books for Schools and Colleges, compiled by," etc. \* \* \* "Numerous examples of bad grammar, bad taste, and incorrect statements are given, and the reviewer is especially and justly severe on the fact that, in numerous instances, Prof. Hart has permitted authors whose writings possess little interest, to *write notices of themselves*, in which truth is almost lost in exaggerated self-eulogy. Indeed, one author has been allowed to give a list of the people with whom he has dined in London as a proof of his high merit. *Such an article as this published now and then cannot fail to be useful as a wholesome corrective to the class of mere book compilers.*"

as the friend both of the University and its Provost, that the less said about the whole affair the better; and we are not sure but its plan might have been the wisest had it been generally adopted. But the chief burden of the defence seems to have fallen on the Bulletin and the Inquirer. We admit the prowess of both champions; nor do we deny that in this case they have fought with a fierceness worthy of a better cause. Still, when it is borne in mind that they had to do with a "savage" who had made so diabolical an attack on the divinities of the place—the venerable and ever-to-be-honored *Diī Lares*—it may, perhaps, be admitted that after all they were not unduly sanguinary. Nay, some pretend that while the twain pretended to wax most indignant, they laughed in their sleeve at the nature of their case. We are informed that some of their former testimonies loomed up before them like avenging spectres—such testimonies, for instance, as the following from the Bulletin:

"Some particularly *fearless and original opinions* heretofore expressed in the *National* have established an almost personal feeling of respect and esteem between its readers and itself. Of this kidney are the views expressed by the author of the paper in the present (December) number on 'Our Millionaires and their Influence.' The writer *puts into words what many of us have been feeling for a long time,*" etc.\*

\* Nay, the literary critic of the Bulletin really spoke in no different spirit when reviewing the number containing the obnoxious article only a few days before the learned Provost and Faculty had commenced hostilities. Thus, the reader may judge for himself, whether, notwithstanding the use of the term "savage," there was not a little irony in regard to our "venerable institution" in the following:

"The National Quarterly Review for December is chiefly noticeable for a savage attack upon 'The University of Pennsylvania and its new Windows,' in which the author—evidently Dr. Sears himself—condemns our venerable institution as *inferior to a well-conducted high-school*: basing his strictures partly upon hearsay evidence, partly upon cursory examinations of a few of its graduates, but, chiefly, as it would seem, upon the refusal of the Provost to admit the editor of the National Quarterly to his recitation rooms. The paper makes serious charges, but fails to establish them by good evidence. A sarcastic article on 'The Puffing Element in American Literature,' *apropos* of a recent series of text-books for schools, is in better style and is well deserved."

One article is "savage," and the other merely "sarcastic," just because the former has to do with the big divinities of Philadelphia, whereas the latter has to do only with a small Jersey divinity!

Now, since it is the same person who wrote all the articles which pleased the critic of the Bulletin so much, that has also paid his respects to the University of Pennsylvania, it must, we think, be admitted that the condition of savagery has supervened rather abruptly and strangely. Even the Darwinian theory will scarcely account for so remarkable a phenomenon. It was all very well, it seems, to attack the frauds and shams of New York and other parts of the Republic; but it is quite another matter to meddle with the University of Pennsylvania and its new windows! This, it seems, is an affair of altogether a different "kidney"; and yet, of nothing we have ever penned could the Bulletin more truly say in its own energetic, expressive language, that "The writer puts into words *what many of us have been feeling for a long time.*" Nay, in fact it does say, even in the article headed "Savage Sears," what amounts to the same, thus: "*Everybody in Philadelphia knows that the Department of Arts and Sciences has been, for some years past, in a depressed condition.*" Yet, in the same paragraph, we are accused of a "spiteful attack" that was "most ungraciously ill-timed" (!). This is very much like the jury verdict: "We find the accused guilty of murder in the first degree; but we entirely acquit him because the savage prosecutor, being a malicious, spiteful fellow, brought him into court at the wrong time. We recommend, therefore, that the said savage prosecutor be put into the dock in his place, and sentenced at least to the pillory for a month or so, especially as it is notorious that he is an old offender." Happily there is this difference between our case and that in which the above verdict was rendered. The charge against the University of Pennsylvania and its worthy Provost, and of which the ablest and most zealous of their own counsel substantially admit their guilt, is not homicide—they stand arraigned only for murdering both ancient and modern languages, especially her Majesty's English.

So much for our savagery, as shown by the Bulletin. Then we had issued only one number since the Inquirer complimented us still more highly, if possible, than its evening contemporary, as follows:

"The National Quarterly Review, of which Dr. Edward I. Sears is editor and *chief contributor*, is by far the best of all our American *quarterlies*, and is at least equal to any of the English. Brilliant, learned, and strictly impartial, it has from its very commencement waged ceaseless war against every species of bigotry and intolerance, fraud, corruption, and imposture." \*

These are but specimens of the compliments we have been in the habit of receiving from the leading journals of Philadelphia for thirteen years past; and we have always valued them the more highly, partly from their being entirely spontaneous, and partly from the evident marks of culture and ability which they bear. To this day we do not know who either the critic of the Bulletin or the critic of the Inquirer is; but we do know that neither has ever been under the slightest compliment to us; and still more emphatically, if possible, may we say so of the publishers of these journals. In short, both papers have ever been as disinterested and generous in their encouraging words to us up to the day we chose for our subject the University of Pennsylvania and its New Windows, as the Press, the North American, and the Age; or as the New York Herald, New York Times, Boston Post, Boston Transcript, etc., etc.

It will be admitted, therefore, that we could afford to wait three months to vindicate ourselves from the charge of savagery, as well as from that of having been actuated in the window

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\* When the conservative and dignified Philadelphia North American has expressed any opinion of our journal it has spoken as follows:—

"This periodical approaches nearer, in design and execution, to the great English standards, the Edinburgh, the Westminster, the London Quarterly, Blackwood's, the Dublin University, etc., than any other American magazine or review."

Or, thus:—

"The National is an interesting and valuable review, and one that does honor to the spirit and scholarship of the country."

Even in its review of our last number—that containing the obnoxious "window" article—it pays us the compliment of saying that, in our preface to the article on Pope Alexander VI., we give "expression to the enlightened sense of Christendom, Catholic as well as Protestant."

case by the most diabolical motives. Besides we had long since become well used to be called hard names; we had been honored with such by the quack doctors, the quack insurers, the quack patriots, the quack ring-leaders, etc., etc. Had it been otherwise, we might have excused ourselves on the ground that did we undertake to defend ourselves from those who accuse us of having done grievous injustice, through spite, or "malice prepense," to themselves or their ancestors, we might do nothing else from the day we issue one number until it is time to issue another. Thus, for example, our Philadelphia readers at least can tell that we should have been kept pretty busy for six weeks of the time, had we attempted to answer the avalanche of fierce articles hurled at us in that hitherto courteous and hospitable city. In various other quarters we stood arraigned for, that we, "in a certain rhapsody, styled 'The Puffing Element in American Literature,' did maliciously, etc., without the fear of God before our eyes, make an unprovoked, atrocious and felonious assault on sundry great authors and authoresses, including several members of the renowned Smith family." Elsewhere, the rabble in the back streets have assailed us with those foul, unsavory weapons congenial to that interesting class, for having libelled certain illustrious divines, living and dead, the former of whom has since been promoted for his piety, learning and meekness! Let our Philadelphia friends please remember that the worst language used by the Bulletin and Inquirer, in defence of the University of Pennsylvania and its learned Provost, was mild and gentlemanly compared to that of the vindicators of the saintly and infallible Alexander VI., and the almost equally saintly and infallible Father Corrigan, now by the grace of God, and the recommendation of his learned and pious Grace of New York, promoted to be the Right Reverend Bishop Corrigan. For just the same as we are declared guilty of having attacked the whole good people of the Keystone State, especially all patriotic Philadelphians, in venturing to make some observations on the University of Pennsylvania, so are we declared guilty of having attacked the whole Catholic Church, because we could neither take part in the reha-

bilitation of St. Borgia, nor in the white-washing of St. Corrigan, so as to make him a fit and proper companion of that other great Seton Hall luminary, St. McQuade.

It will hardly seem strange, then, that the only instance in which we have ever written to any paper in defence of ourselves, or our journal, in regard to any criticism we have made, is that in which Mayor Hall issued his celebrated proclamation against us in the *New York Herald*, headed "The Cat out of the Bag." His Honor, seeing no other way of hurting us, or weakening the force of our criticism, manipulates a private letter and embodies it in his manifesto to show that we were actuated by spite and malice in attacking such high-minded, incorruptible and patriotic statesmen as his worthy colleagues. All the Ring papers were directed to copy this proclamation from the *Herald*, and in all city and suburban papers not belonging to the Ring it was published as an advertisement. In each of the former it was accompanied with more or less editorial abuse—all for our being such vile slanderers as to pretend that New York was not in a happy condition under "Ring-leader rule." As the Ring was just in its glory at this time, the majority of our good credulous people regarding it as quite the right sort of government, we thought it proper to reply to his Honor. In this letter we admitted that he was entirely right in proclaiming "the cat out of the bag," but added that he and those high-minded people whom he defended so well, would find ere long that it was the wrong cat! This brought on us fresh storms of abuse, which continued for weeks, and this failing to frighten us, or prevent us from advertising our "malicious libel on honesty and integrity," now issued separately, in pamphlet form, and extended to the third edition, another member of the feline tribe was let loose against us disguised in a petticoat. To be attacked in this fashion is, to use the language of Provost Stillé, "an event of great significance in the community in which we live." But fortunately, in this case, the event was "rightly apprehended;" so the only mischief it did us was to afford our editorial friends a fresh excuse for hurling mud and garbage at us. Not that they had any mortal spite against us,



or indeed any real wish to annihilate us; but that they were shrewd enough to understand the force, "in the community in which we live," of the adage, "no pater noster, no pay!"

Now, is it not a singular fact, that, except in one or two particulars, the course of Provost Stillé toward us has been exactly like that of Mayor Hall? One chieftain as well as the other has sought to shield himself and his accomplices from criticism, which it is notorious was eminently deserved, by publishing a private letter, courteously written to him under the supposition that he was a gentleman. No canon of social ethics is more universally recognized in any enlightened community than that he is no gentleman, let his position be what it may, who would be guilty of such meanness. But in justice to Mayor Hall, it should be said that he had the manliness and decency to apologize to us fully for his violation of the amenities of life; and he is entitled to the more credit for this because he made the apology while the Ring, to which he belonged, and in whose defence he had assailed us, was still intact—none of the forged vouchers, or other tangible evidences of guilt, having yet been found against its members. Another difference between the two chiefs is that Mayor Hall took the part of himself and his friends in pretty good English; and that when he rose to deliver a speech, if he made his audience laugh it was not by his bad English, but by his ready wit. Because, on reflection—on consulting his better nature—Mayor Hall acted thus gracefully, we have never reproduced in this journal, or in any other, the letter to the Herald in which we denounced him, with, perhaps, undue severity, for having forgotten that he was a gentleman.

But let us observe the contrast in the points indicated. Provost Stillé let out his "cat" in a very awkward way. Not but he kept the animal long enough in durance—more than two years! Finally, after the great battle has been raging for a whole month, the Provost, acting on the advice of one of his gunpowder friends, as shown above, enters the field with his cat, and after receiving a little brushing up in his syntax and orthography is led into action by the Inquirer, as follows:



## THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW" AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. Stillé, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, has sent us the following letter explanatory of another letter which has achieved some recent notoriety :

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, January 27, 1873.

"ED. PHILADELPHIA *Inquirer*—As there seems to be a good deal of curiosity to know why the Provost of the University took no notice of a so-called Latin letter written to him by Dr. Sears, that portion of the letter which the doctor did *not* print in his article is here given :

"Nunc te audire bene oro. Quoniam renunciationem doctæ et inclytæ universitatis tuæ in nonnullis ephemeradibus vidi permissionem dicere peto, ut placeret multum mihi si esses tam bonus quam meum ascribere intereas quas in isto modo honoras et faves. Spero ut nulla bona ratio sit cur eam posses ponere in N. Q. R. Complures collegorum ac universitatum in patria nostra regulariter nuntiet in trimestre modesto meo. Gratissimum mihi faceris si vis in hoc negotio me favere.

" 'EDVARDUS I. SEARS.'

"Your readers must decide whether a Latin letter from the Provost would not have been wholly incomprehensible to one who is evidently ignorant of the rudiments of that language, and also whether Dr Sears' 'zeal' for the advancement of classical learning in the University was not somewhat quickened by the Provost's strange obtuseness and ignorance in failing to understand what was meant by 'renunciationem nuntiet.'

C. J. S."

Of all the suicidal acts committed by Provost Stillé, in his official capacity, this is undoubtedly the most fatal. First, our modest epistle is sadly mutilated; prepositions and nouns are jumbled together as if they too had got into a row with each other. Yet, even in this "laid out" state there is no such expression, in any part of our letter as "renunciationem nuntiet;" that which the learned Provost quotes as settling the point in regard to our ignorance. But the merest smatterer in Latin can see presently on what side the ignorance really is.

First, however, we will mention a little incident. A few years ago we attended the "commencement" exhibition of St.

Xavier's College, in this city. The audience being composed chiefly of Irish servant-maids and their beaux, when any allusion was made to "ould Ireland" by the orators of the occasion the cheering and stamping were worse than deafening. In making some jocose comments on this state of things, it occurred to us that it might be well for us to fortify ourselves with a little Latin. Aware, from experience, that let us write what we would—no matter how—in that tongue, our New York Jesuit Fathers would show their own superior learning by abusing it, in order to show some friends who took an interest in such matters how spurious this learning was, and at the same time to afford them a hearty laugh, we transcribed a few sentences from that part of the seventh book of Cæsar's Commentaries in which he describes the manners and customs of the Gauls, commencing with the following: "*Conclamat omnis multitudo, et suo more armis concrepat,*" etc. Just ten days after our number containing this is issued, a certain New York Catholic paper is sent us, in which our utter ignorance of Latin is demonstrated as beyond question! It was so gross that no abuse was considered too severe for us, or in fact severe enough. "A fellow," says our critic, "that knows no more about Latin than to write '*multitudo concrepat,*' only makes himself ridiculous and contemptible when he pretends to give any opinion whatever of our great Jesuit colleges." The construction, "*suo more armis,*" was condemned with equal indignation and severity. In this case the epithet "savage" was entirely too mild for us; and so we were decorated with half a dozen infinitely worse. But to this day our only reply has been a hearty laugh at the contemptuous abuse we had brought on the Latin of Julius Cæsar!\*

We had by no means forgotten this when writing to the learned Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Accordingly, in order to be prepared for the worst, we had our Latin epistle carefully copied with a copying-press, thus securing a perfect fac-simile of it. From this the paragraph we gave in our last number was taken, and in which *t* was printed for

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\**De Bello Gal.* L. VII. c. XXI.

*m*—the third person for the first. We now present our readers the whole letter exactly as it was penned :

"Kal. xii, Nov. 1871.

"AD DR. CAROLUM J. STILLÉ, *Præfectum*, etc. :

"CARE DOMINE.—Quando eram in urbe amœna tua, nuper, visitabam tuum auditorium. Volebam per multum te videre, sed infelicitè foris eras. Verum est, certè, quod Prof. Johannes McElroy valdè comis et jucundus erat. Equidem, si placet tibi, vellem multas gratias illi, per te, agere pro urbanitati suæ.

"Nunc te audire benè oro. Quoniam renunciationem doctæ et inclytæ universitatis tuæ in nonnullis ephemeridibus vidî, permissionem dicere peto, ut placeret multum mihi si esses tam bonus quam meum ascribere inter eas quas in isto modo honoras et laves. Spero ut nulla bona ratio sit cur eam non posses ponere in N. Q. R.

"Complures collegorum ac universitatum in patriâ nostrâ regulariter nuntiat in trimestre modesto meo. Gratissimum mihi faceris si vis in hoc negotio me favere.

"Vale, care Domine.

"EDVARDUS I. SEARS."

The paragraphs, the sentences, the capital letters, even the punctuation, are all the same. We certainly do not mention this by way of boasting of our letter. Had we been writing an English letter to any respectable newspaper, for publication, we would have taken more pains with it than we did with that Latin communication to Provost Stillé. But, hurriedly written as the letter was, we can prove to the satisfaction of any impartial, competent judge, that our Latin is much more grammatical, and much more lucid than Provost Stillé's English. And if we do so, we think it will be admitted that there was some method in our savagery, even when we tried the effect of Latin on the learned stomach of that gentleman. Every experienced physician is aware that even the vulgar salts and senna have sometimes worked miracles, after all the milder and less nauseous medicines have been exhibited in vain ; and so it has been in the case of our last venerable patient !

Thus, take our first paragraph. No one acquainted with

the principles of the Latin language need be informed that all the other verbs in the passage testify that the use of *t* instead of *m*, was but a mistake. It was one moreover which occurs in the best editions of Cicero—nay, it was one which Cicero himself might have made with his stylus, the same as Macaulay might in the hurry of composition write *has* for *have*. In that passage there are three other verbs in the first person singular, viz. : *eram*, *volebam*, *vellem*. Why does not any of these end with a *t*? Why does not any of those that are, and should be, in the third person end with an *m*? Why is each verb in the indicative mood, the subjunctive, or the infinitive, in accordance with the principles of the Latin language?

Now let us pass to the part of the letter published with such an overwhelming flourish by Provost Stillé. It will be seen that the preposition *inter* and the pronoun *eas* are made one word by our learned Provost! It will be seen also that he makes *nuntiat* "*nuntiet*"—*nuntio* being of the first conjugation, and, therefore, forming its third person singular, present (historical) tense, just as we have used it. And this "*nuntiet*" he makes govern *renunciationem*, which occurs only in a former sentence, nay, in another paragraph, where it is the accusative of *vidi*! \*

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\* We will now give Provost Stillé an opportunity of demonstrating what a fine Latin letter he would have written us by return of mail only that in the plenitude of his benevolence he was loath to puzzle us, and put our ignorance to the blush! Such thoughtful tender-heartedness deserves our warmest gratitude. Accordingly we beg leave to make the following proposition: Let a tribunal be formed consisting of four provosts or presidents of colleges, or universities, and two editors; two of the former and one of the latter to be chosen by him, we to be allowed the same privilege in choosing the remainder. Let this tribunal meet at the Continental Hotel, on a certain day to be previously agreed upon, and place the learned Provost at one table at one end of the room, and the savage editor at another table at the opposite end of the room. Let it be expressly provided that "such a practice" as "the occasional presence of strangers," "when the object was to gain a knowledge of the details of our system," be *not* set aside, but remain in full force.

After all the necessary preliminaries have been arranged, let a letter be dictated in the vernacular tongue—"a mere begging letter," or a threatening letter, as may be deemed most suitable for so memorable an occasion—to be rendered, off-hand, into Latin without any swagger, bolstering up, trick,

The learned Stillé's style of criticism will remind many of our readers of a remarkably similar criticism made in Germany half a century ago, by another learned provost, president, director or superintendent; for we do not remember, at this moment, what was the exact title, at that time, of the functionary alluded to, and if we do not give the exact one in some way, we may be told "there was no such person." It is well known that the University of Göttingen was once at the head of all the great literary and scientific schools of Germany. But owing to the demoralization consequent on the French invasion, the old habit of requiring both provost and professors to possess literary or scientific qualifications as a *sine qua non* was discarded, and in its stead was adopted the new habit of making skill and smartness in politics the chief qualifications. If anybody could show that he had written a pamphlet in praise of Napoleon and his peculiar mode of rendering Germany "free, independent, and happy," he had only to apply for a professorship at Göttingen. If he could only show that he had written two or three pamphlets, then, if he

or collusion; the party who breaks down in the effort to pay two hundred dollars in the current coin of the Republic, to be presented as a donation to the American Sunday School Union; and, also, to pay the full bill for a comfortable dinner, for the provosts, presidents, editors, reporters, bottle-holders, etc.

It would be acknowledged by the party of the second part, *alias* the savage editor, that the party of the first part, *alias* the learned Provost, might claim the following rights and privileges, *ex officio*, to wit: since it is generally difficult, if not impossible, to see what is not to be seen, as in the memorable instance "*renunciationem nuntiet*," that high functionary may arm himself with *Queen's Educational Microscope* and *Ramshorn's Latin Synonymes*, both of which can be had in Chestnut street, not very far from the arena.

Finally, if by reason of his superior eloquence, as demonstrated so overwhelmingly in his famous window speech, he should prefer the oral mode of placing his classical learning beyond dispute, he shall have the right to address the savage editor in Latin, and if his Latin should prove more "incomprehensible" to the said savage than his English, let him be declared the victor! In either case the results are to be published in extras of the *Inquirer and Bulletin*. The successful "composition" to be headed in large capitals, with the legend, "Great is the University of Pennsylvania, and still greater is its learned Provost;" the unsuccessful composition to be headed with the more sober legend, "In the presence of men who are not blind or silly, thou shalt not try to make an empty sack stand." (!)

had the ambition to be at the head of the institution, he had but to say the word, especially if he could make affidavit that he had some Gallic blood in his veins, though it were only the blood of a Gallic cobbler, or Gallic *blanchisseuse*. As to the German style in which the pamphlets were written, or whether the syntax or the orthography or both were defective, these were things with which Napoleon had nothing to do. It is hardly necessary to add that the results of the new system soon began to manifest themselves, so that in a short time the provost and faculty of the once noble and famous University of Gottingen became nearly as much objects of scorn and derision as those of the University of Pennsylvania are at this moment. Both the statesmen and scholars of England deeply regretted this, because the University of Gottingen had been founded and liberally endowed by George II. (of England). In order to test the truth of certain ugly rumors, George Canning once paid a visit to Gottingen *incognito*. He was refused admittance to the sacred precincts, but on his intimating that he merely came to purchase some degrees for himself and a few friends, he was hospitably entertained, and had no difficulty in striking a bargain for the pieces of parchment.

At this time Canning was one of the chief contributors to the famous *Anti-Jacobin*, edited by William Gifford, subsequently editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. Canning's first care on his return from Gottingen was to write *The Rovers*, a capital burlesque on the sentimental German drama. In this amusing piece he introduces Rogero, who sings a very mournful ditty, the two closing stanzas of which are :

" There first for thee my passion grew,  
Sweet, sweet Matilda Pottingen !  
Thou wast the daughter of my Tu-  
tor, Law Professor at the U-  
niversity of Gottingen,  
niversity of Gottingen.

" Sun, moon, and thou vain world, adieu,  
That kings and priests are plotting in,  
Here, doomed to starve on water gru-  
el, never shall I see the U-  
niversity of Gottingen,  
niversity of Gottingen.

Somebody was mischievous enough to send a copy of the Anti-Jacobin containing this lyric to the university of Göttingen, addressed to the *Vorsteher* of the Faculty. If Canning was not "exposed" for his ignorance and turpitude in this matter, nobody was ever exposed in the full sense of the term. One learned professor denounced him as an "impostor travelling under a false name," another as a "miserable spy," another as "an unprincipled fellow," etc. But his most formidable antagonist was the German professor of English, whose knowledge of that language was nearly as profound as Provost Stillé's knowledge of Latin! "A pretty fellow, indeed," says this gentleman, "to criticise one university; one that doesn't know the first arrangements of his own language. The biggest dummy in English *versteht* that only the ignorantest cockneys give one syllable at the end of a line in poesy and then begin a new line with the rest. *Mein Got! was für ein Critiker—ein Esel!*"

Of course Canning could never show his face after this. But those who made themselves most ridiculous in criticising and abusing Canning did not in their floundering engulf themselves in so low a depth of "outer darkness" as to make a verb in one sentence and paragraph govern a noun in another sentence and paragraph after the fashion of the learned Stillé's "*renunciationem nuntiet.*"

But, hurriedly as our Latin epistle was penned, we used a construction or two in it which we suspected were not very well known at the University of Pennsylvania. Thus we make the partitive *complures* the subject of a singular verb: we also make it the feminine gender, although one of the nouns to which it refers is neuter. But we need not go beyond American scholars to show that for one form as well as the other we have the best classical authority. Let those who doubt this take up Andrews' and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, turn to Section 209, and see for themselves. There it will be found stated under Remark 12, that "a verb in the singular is often used after several nominatives singular, especially if they denote things without life." This is illustra-

ted by two quotations from Cicero. "So also," we read, Note 9, "the compound subject *Senatus populusque Romanus* (the Senate and Roman people) has always a predicate in the singular." In the same section Livy is quoted to show that plural and singular nouns may be combined, and yet have their verb in the singular. Then we have in Terence such expressions as "*Amantium ire amoris integratio est*;" in Sallust, such as "*Loca quae proxima Carthageniem Numidia appellatur*."

Then as to the gender we have the following: "When substantives denoting living beings are of different genders, the adjective is masculine rather than feminine, and *feminine rather than neuter*." Again: "When there is a *mixture of animate and inanimate* objects, the adjective either *assumes the gender of the animate* object, or is put in the neuter." This is particularly true of partitives; for we read in the same American authority: "An adjective or adjective-pronoun *used partitively* (that is, like our *complures*) stands alone, and *commonly* takes the gender of the genitive plural which depends upon it, but when it is preceded by a noun of a different gender, to which it refers, it *usually* takes that gender, but *sometimes* that of the genitive, as: '*Elephanto belluarum nulla est prudentior*,' etc."

In a word, we did not use a single construction in that scrawl which may not be found in the Latin classics of the Golden Age; nay, we can assert without fear of contradiction that *trimestris*, which we used as the equivalent of *Quarterly*, is the only word which is not used in a similar sense by Livy, Cicero, or Sallust; yet it took the learned Provost of the University of Pennsylvania more than two years, from the kalends of November, 1871, to the kalends of January, 1873, to answer it; and even then what a sad mess he makes of it! But he tells us he had excellent reason for the delay—he knew his Latin would be incomprehensible to us. Doubtless we should have mistaken it for Sanscrit or Parsi. Still it could hardly have puzzled us more than his English. But since it has taken the Provost of a University more than two years to answer our Latin letter, one would think that it



would take the President of a similar institution three or four years to do so. It will hardly be believed, then, that there are American presidents who have answered our Latin letters just as promptly as they have our English letters. But in order to prove the fact we need only mention two names—Dr. Elliot of Harvard College, and Dr. White of Cornell University. Doubtless it will seem "incomprehensible" to Provost Stillé that each of these gentlemen replied not only promptly, but courteously and kindly. True, we wrote to each in Latin only because we knew they would have no trouble in replying; and would be rather pleased than otherwise at our doing so; whereas when we wrote to the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, we confess we had grave doubts whether it was in the power of that learned functionary to reply at all. Now the world can judge with tolerable accuracy how far we were right or wrong in each case.

But another word before we proceed to compare Provost Stillé's English epistles with our Latin epistle. The reader has seen how handsomely the Inquirer has introduced the learned Provost armed with our mutilated two-year-old missive. While disclaiming all intention of "calling names," we beg leave to quote in favor of that respectable journal the ancient, though homely adage, "Help the lame dog over the stile." How well it carries out that humane precept will be sufficiently seen from the first paragraph of its commentary following its copy of our "so-called Latin letter." This we quote, only premising that the editor certainly smiled and scratched his head more than once before he printed it:—

"It is unfortunate for Dr. Sears, that when he concluded to print his letter to Dr. Stillé, in the Quarterly, he did not print it all, because, though it would have disclosed, *to his great disadvantage*, his *singular motive* for attacking Dr. Stillé under the too transparent cloak of *reforming our venerable University*, it would have prevented another from giving it a wider publicity, and thereby *demonstrating the dishonesty* of the Quarterly's editor." \*

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\* It is a curious fact that about the time we wrote our first letter to the

"That's very good," says the learned Provost, "but 'tisn't half enough." Then the editor proceeds to denounce our missive as "a mere begging letter," "miserable school-boy Latin," etc. Still the erudite and brave Provost-martial is not satisfied. The Inquirer man again scratches his head, and tries to look grave. While hesitating, he remembers the case of the individual who, on being asked why so large and strong a man as he would allow so small and feeble a woman as his wife to beat him, replied, "Well, it plases Biddy, an' it does me no harm." Fortified in its conscience by this philosophical precept, the Inquirer winds up in the following overwhelming style:—

"The part of the letter above, which Dr. Sears *suppressed*, is the most satisfactory reply possible to the Quarterly's attack on the university. *From it the fact is made apparent* that the attack was made *solely* because Dr. Stillé did not advertise in and subscribe for the REVIEW."

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University of Pennsylvania, addressing it so ignorantly "To the President," etc., the Philadelphia Age used the following language:

"The 'National Quarterly,' which Dr. Sears directs and manages, is a very Columbiad. It may not always hit the mark, but when it does, the splinters fly in all directions, and the battlements erected by error are crumbling into ruin."

Has the truth of this been illustrated of late, or has it not? Has the *mark* been *hit* at West Philadelphia? How many of the *splinters* fell in the swamp? How many did it take to make the learned Provost run frantically to the newspaper offices, and implore the editors *ad misericordiam*? What part of his learned carcase was struck when he vomited up "the so-called Latin letter" in a mutilated but still undigested state?

Whether these questions can be satisfactorily answered or not, it must be admitted that the bowels of compassion of The Age were as profoundly moved by the piteous whines of Stillé as if it had never said anything about Columbiads or the splinters which they make fly so unceremoniously, for it informs its readers, with as grave a face as possible, that if the learned Provost "does *refrain* from corresponding in Latin," etc., he has certain other qualifications "more valuable *in the post* he fills than the *special qualification* for any *chair in the institution*." What then becomes of the learned Provost's two "chairs," those of "History" and "English Literature?" Are these only mythical chairs? If so, what do those "more valuable" qualifications of the Provost consist in? Have they anything to do with "lobbying" at Harrisburg for hundreds of thousands of dollars, at the expense of the good people of Pennsylvania? Or does The Age merely allude to the learned Provost's talents as a salesman in the *degree* business?

Now, the truth is that we have never asked anybody to subscribe; we have, however, taken the liberty to advise persons whom we regarded as gentlemen engaged in respectable, honest business, to place their prospectuses in our advertising pages, believing that, in exhibiting their goods to our readers, they would serve themselves quite as much as they would us. And what is more, the best educators in America, including Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, as well as Episcopalians, have done us the honor of accepting our advice in that particular. Nor have we abandoned all idea of taking a similar liberty in future with educators whose pretensions we believe to be honest, or with those who are not educators merely in name or *ex officio*, but in reality. Moreover, we are satisfied in advance that none of this class will abuse our letter or ourselves. And were it otherwise, we should find consolation in the fact that some of the greatest thinkers and most learned men have not been ashamed to admit that they have written "begging letters." Dr. Johnson, for example, was not ashamed to write thus to Lord Chesterfield: "Seven years, my lord, have now passed since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work, through difficulties of which it is useless to complain," etc. True, there is an immense difference between Chesterfield and Stillé, quite as much as there is between our humble selves and the great lexicographer. But we have never waited for one moment on Provost Stillé. We have once called to see some of the classes; of course, in doing so, we inquired for the head of the University. But he was not in, and we have never called the second time; nor have we ever to this moment seen Provost Stillé, so far as we are aware.

But why have not some of those who have so much abused the "so-called Latin letter," and its "savage" writer, attempted to translate it into the vernacular tongue, so that the good people of Philadelphia, at large, might be able to see for themselves what a serious thing it was that produced such a terrible commotion in those learned halls? Well, as nobody else seems

to have done so we will essay that feat ourselves; the plain English of the matter is the following:

Nov. 20, 1871.

TO DR. CHARLES J. STILLE, *Provost, etc.*:

*Dear Sir:* While in your pleasant city, recently, I visited your institution (*auditorium*). I wished very much to see you, but unfortunately you were out (*foris*). It is true, certainly, that Prof. John McElroy was very courteous and complaisant. Indeed, were it agreeable to you I should like to present to him, through you, many thanks for his politeness.

Now, I pray you, listen. As I have seen the prospectus of your learned and renowned University in some journals, I ask permission to to say that it would please me much if you were so kind as to include mine among those which you honor and favor in this manner. I hope there is no good reason why you may not place your prospectus (*eam*) in the N. Q. R.

Several colleges and universities in our country make their announcements regularly in my modest Quarterly. It will be a very acceptable thing to me if you feel disposed to favor me in this matter.

Be of good cheer (or be strong), dear Sir.

EDWARD I. SEARS.

Now, will the reader please give us his attention for a moment. We had already seen sufficient of the English composition of the learned Provost. One day we happen to take up a periodical sent to our office, entitled "The Penn Monthly," and find its ample outside cover page decorated from top to bottom with the prospectus of the University of Pennsylvania, including the "Faculty of the Department of Science," the "Faculty of the Department of Arts," etc. In this the great central figure is the learned Provost, who, with his name in large capitals, occupies about as much space as half a dozen of the other professors. First, the prospectus is duly signed by that high functionary as "Provost." This, of course, is all right. But, without anything intervening save a black line, his name is repeated in full, and put in flaming capitals with the following legend: "Provost of the University, *Professor of History and English Literature.*" Here

follows another black line, so that one is reminded of a large vacant city lot, in the centre of which stands a giant who is gazed at over the fence by the crowd of ordinary mortals. We read the prospectus and find it a capital thing—highly characteristic. We hunt up several back numbers of the *Penn Monthly*, and in each we find the grand and mighty Saturn, with his satellites and rings at respectful distance. We turn to the prospectus and read: "The *next* term in the Department of Arts and the Department of Science will begin on Monday," etc. After the great event had taken place, the prospectus was altered so that it read as follows: "The *first* term in the Department of Arts and the Department of Science began on Monday," etc. Does "next" imply that something of the same kind had gone before it, or not? If it does, what is the sense of "first" in this case? In every issue of the prospectus, before and after it was altered, we read, "The design is after giving a young man a thorough training in preliminary studies, to afford him special and practical instruction," etc. We give one more specimen of the English of the prospectus: "Every effort has been made in the arrangement of the building and its *eq,tipment*, and in the selection of professors," etc. Is "equipment" a proper term in this sense? Let any one who thinks so turn to Webster or Worcester. The former concludes his definition of the verb *to equip*, thus: "To provide *with arms* or an *armament*, stores, *munitions*, *rigging*, and the like; said especially of *ships*, or of *troops*." Then the same lexicographer defines *equipment* as the act of equipping, or state of being equipped *as for a voyage or expedition*;" concluding his definition thus: "*warlike apparatus; necessities for an expedition or for a voyage*: equipage; as the *equipments* of a *ship* or an *army*."

This will, perhaps, account for the hostilities so readily and fiercely commenced against us, and which have been so bravely and resolutely carried on.\* The wonder to ourselves

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\*Why do not the learned Provost and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania bring their "equipment" to bear on the daily and weekly papers throughout the United States, since their verdict everywhere, in regard to our "window article" has been "capital,—richly deserved," etc. But the

is how we have escaped thus far, seeing that scarcely were the holidays allowed to pass when broadsides were discharged at our devoted head almost daily for several weeks by so large and admirably "equipped" a squadron, while we had no other armament or "equipment" than one iron-clad armed with rifled cannon, and even that required three months' repairs before again unfurling the National flag.

But now we have to record an event which almost makes us regret having ever said a word about "The University of Pennsylvania and its new windows," for scarcely had our "savage" article appeared when the University prospectus was withdrawn from the Penn Monthly! Thus, it was spread out at full length in the December number, as well as in many other consecutive back numbers, but in the next number that reaches us we find that it has disappeared like an exhalation. We proceed to reproach ourselves for having inflicted, however unintentionally, such an injury on the Penn Monthly, but are consoled in finding in place of the missing prospectus that of the Monthly, with the name of the learned Provost inserted as "among its contributors!"

general sentiment among the most intelligent has been that the great "Text-book for Schools and Colleges," and the University of Pennsylvania, should have been combined in one article, as nearly on a par with each other. Most of them admit, however, that the separate treatment has its advantages. Even the religious papers are ill-natured enough to laugh, and point the finger of scorn at the two great fountains of knowledge. In illustration of this we need only extract a brief passage or two from the Cincinnati *Christian Standard*, one of the ablest conducted weekly papers in this country. The following *morceau* will, we think, be quite sufficient:

"And first we fall on 'The Puffing Element in Literature,' wherein the two 'Manuals' of English and American Literature, from the pen of Prof. John Hart, both noticed within a year in these columns, are subjected to a *pitiless overhauling*. That author's industry is *certainly far more abundant than his discretion*. \* \* \* *Sham colleges* are likewise a pet field for *exposure* for our editor, who touches up the University of Pennsylvania in *another scathing article*. \* \* \* The remaining articles of this number we find rather flat, or heavy; but those we have mentioned are not only readable, but ENJOYABLE."

Now, who the editor or critic of the *Christian Standard* is, we do not know from Adam. All we know about him is, that he is evidently a man of superior culture, and, like the philosopher of Samosato, and our humble selves, "the declared enemy of all false pretences, all quackery, all lies, and all false puffing," etc. Then, why not at least call him a "savage?"

Whether this insertion brings the Monthly as much, in hard cash, or "in trade" (diplomas), as the insertion of the University prospectus, or whether it costs that famous institution so much or not, we think it will be admitted, by all experienced and skilful physicians, that in writing, even in "miserable school-boy Latin," to advise the insertion of that curious prospectus in our journal, we were still but carrying out, in our own humble way, the antiphlogistic treatment of our venerable patient.

But, as the blame of the bad English of the Provost's famous window speech was thrown upon the reporter, so the blame of the University "equipment," etc., may be thrown upon the printer. It so happens, however, that we have some specimens for which no such excuses can be made. As Provost Stillé has, it seems, only conferred additional glory on the institution whose head he so pompously calls himself, by publishing our private letter, mutilating it, by ignorance or design, in order to prove the horrible charge that we wrote him "a begging letter," there is no code of ethics which forbids us from publishing his English letter, especially as the latter contains nothing "private" or "confidential."

It is now nearly *four* years since we first wrote to the head of the University of Pennsylvania, addressing him as "President," etc., for we did not know his name—had never heard it mentioned. All we requested from him was the privilege of being present at some of the recitations. Having no idea, at this time, that there would be any objection, we kept no copy of our note. In due time, however, we received the following reply:

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

"PROVOST'S ROOM

"Philadelphia, May 1 1869

"Edward I Sears Esq LLD.

"Dear Sir:

"I have your letter of the 28th ult: addressed to "the President of Pennsylvania Uneversity," (there is no such person) and I beg to say in reply, that While our arrange-

ments do not permit the presence of Strangers in our recitation rooms during recitation hours. We shall be happy to see you or any one else interested in the Subject, at the annual public examination of our classes which takes place from the 15th to 20th June next—

Very respectfully

C. J. Stillé

Provost

&c

Will the reader believe that this is as nearly a fac-simile of the letter of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania as our type could make it! Not a word is altered, not a letter, not a point. Then, may we not ask, would not a more decent letter be expected from the clerk of a respectable grocery? Observe that the whole thing is jumbled into one sentence, and such a sentence! The writer of the letter at pp. 99, 100, in our last number, himself a Philadelphian, a scholar, and an author, has been much abused because he speaks of the University graduates as "men who 'know little Latin and less Greek,' and cannot speak five minutes without breaking Priscian's head; men who write decent business letters, but *spell as pleases their own fancy*." We could have ranked in this category the head of the institution, but "spiteful" and "savage" as we are, we abstained from doing so. Let us ask now has the University of Pennsylvania only one *i*? Is there no *i* in interested; or must we commence that word in future with an *e*? But we shall be told that these are mere mistakes. Be it so; but can the same be said of that curious information given in the parenthesis: "there is no *such person*"? We confess this reminded us at once of the individual who, on being addressed by the census numerator: "Are you one of the inmates of this house?" replies rather gruffly, "No, there's none o' them fellows here; I'm Larry, the tailor!" The worst of it is that the Provost was right for once, for he has since proved to the world, in the most satisfactory manner, however unintentionally, that *he* "is no *such person*." It required no great learning to understand that the *president* of a university or college is as much its chief officer or head as *provost*. Any respectable dictionary would have given this



information. Thus, for example, Webster defines a provost, one "who is appointed to *superintend* or *preside* over something; a chief magistrate of a city or town, as the provost of Edinburgh, or of Glasgow, answering to the mayor of other cities; the provost of a college *answering to president*." Then, if we turn to the same authority, we shall find the term president defined as "one who is elected or *appointed to preside*; a *presiding officer*; a chief authority; a *superintendent*, as the chief officer of a corporation, company, ward, *institution*, society, and the like," etc. In the original Latin also the two terms *præpositus* (provost) and *præses* (president) are used synonymously. Where there is any difference as to the honor conferred by the two terms, it is decidedly in favor of *præses*. In order to illustrate this we need only quote two lines and a half, one from Ovid, the rest from Virgil. Thus the former has in his *Fæsti* :

"At puto *præposita* est fuscæ mihi candida *pellex*."—*Fast.* iii. 493.

The latter in his *Æneid* :

"Queis Jupiter Anxurus arvis  
*Præsidet* et viridi gaudens Feronia luco."—*Æn.* vii. 800.

Here we see that while Ovid thinks a prostitute good enough to be a provost, Virgil regards the office of president as worthy even of Jupiter. This will doubtless seem a very great difference, and yet we admit the difference is quite as great between the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and the President of almost any of several colleges we could mention; so that, as already intimated, the parenthetical clause "there is no such person" contains but too much truth.

But we must not linger too long over that curious letter. Eleven months after our "so-called Latin letter" *alias* "mere begging letter" had been sent, we write as follows, in plain English, but without making any allusion to the communication in "an unknown tongue:"

NEW YORK, October 26, 1872.

CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL. D.

DEAR SIR :

Many friends of your institution have urged on me, from time to time, that I ought to have an article in my Review on the University of Pennsylvania. With this view I wrote to you some two years ago, expressing a wish to visit your class-rooms if agreeable to you. All the principal colleges in the country, including Columbia, Yale, and Harvard have promptly complied with a similar request, but you declined, informing me that I might be present at your annual commencement.

In respectfully inquiring again, now, whether you have any objection to my seeing your system of education in operation, I only comply with the requests of Philadelphians who are patrons of the University. I trust I need hardly say that I would not interfere in any manner with your classes, but merely look on. If you refuse this time I must only obtain my information in the best way I can, and show in my article that the fault of my not being better informed is not mine. I shall also have to publish some of the letters addressed to me on the subject by friends of the institution.

Upon the other hand, I assure you that it is in no other than a friendly spirit, I would visit your class-rooms, if you, like other educators placed in similar positions, would allow me the privilege of doing so. Awaiting the favor of a reply,

I remain,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

EDW. I. SEARS.

In due time we received the following reply, headed with an imposing cut of the new building :

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia, Oct 30: 1872.

"Dear Sir :

"I shall be happy to *show you our new building*, and the facilities it affords for instruction—neither myself nor any *one* of the Professors would have any objection to the *occasional pressence* of a Stranger at a lecture or a recitation *When the object was to gain a knowledge* of the details of our System were it not that *such a practice* is forbidden by our rules in the interest of the students *themselves*.

"Very resp

"C. J. Stillé"

\* It is proper to say that the italics are ours, not those of the learned Provost. But in every other particular we present our readers a faithful copy of that gentleman's letter. Then does it need any comment? Do any of our readers need to be informed that a boy ten years old, learning "composition" in one of our common schools, could write a decenter letter—a more sensible and more grammatical letter? Will the reader try to understand "such a *practice*" as "the *occasional* presence" "when the object *was* to *gain*," etc. (!)? We think it will be admitted that the Provost who writes to us in this sort of English may well say that his Latin would be entirely incomprehensible to us; we suspect it will also be admitted without much controversy that his instructions as "Professor of History and English Literature" cannot be of a very high order.

Contrary to its usual courtesy and regard for truth, the Bulletin says that had we been allowed to be present at the recitations of the University of Pennsylvania, we would not have given a fair estimate of them. But when have we pursued such a course toward any institution? With the sole exception of the one under consideration, there is not one of the higher educational institutions of Philadelphia, public or private, male or female, of any denomination, that we cared to see, at which we have not been made welcome and treated courteously. Far from attacking any of these, we have either spoken kindly of them, or not at all. It will be admitted, we think, that the case of Girard college alone would exculpate us from the charge of being actuated only by selfishness and spite. It is now more than ten years since we were *invited* by the President of the board of trustees to visit that institution. All we cared to see was readily and cheerfully shown to us. We wrote and published an article entitled "Girard College and its Founder,"\* which speaks for itself to-day, and tells whether we were spiteful or selfish. So far as we are aware we have not to this moment gained one dollar by that institution; yet when or where have we made any attack on Girard College?

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\* Vide National Quarterly Review, No. XV., December, 1863.

In seeking information for an article on the treatment of the insane, we applied to Dr. Kirkbride, superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. Far from having recourse to any quibbles, or offering to instruct us as to the technicalities of titles, that gentleman politely brought his carriage for us to the Continental Hotel, conducted us through the whole institution, afforded us every facility to familiarize ourselves with his mode of discipline, and finally sent his carriage back with us to the hotel. This gentleman can probably tell to-day whether we have ever abused his confidence, or whether we have made any false representation of his system of discipline; he can also tell whether we have ever called to him for as much as one dollar, or received one dollar from him. Since there was then, as there is now, a Dogberry who loved darkness rather than light, it may be neither uninteresting nor irrelevant to extract a passage or two from that article. The following will show how "savage" we were ten years ago:

"If the reader who has carefully read all the testimony from various sources which we have adduced in this article as to the treatment of the insane even so recently as twenty or twenty-five years ago, will visit some of the principal hospitals for the insane in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island; such institutions, for example, as the *Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia*; Butler Hospital for the Insane, Providence, R. I.; State Lunatic Asylum, Utica, N. Y.; State Lunatic Asylum, Worcester, Mass.; Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, Conn.; N. Y. City Lunatic Asylum, Blackwell's Island, etc., then he will be able to form an adequate estimate of the amount of good accomplished within a comparatively brief period.

"Nearly all the asylums just mentioned are among the several which we have visited within the last six months, and in each case their superintendents have evinced a disposition *not only to communicate every important fact relative to the treatment of those under their charge*, but to show us any departments of their institutions which it was proper for us to see. In those instances in which we did not happen to find the superintendents at home, or in which we were not able to visit the asylums, we have been courteously favored with their Reports for years, generally accompanied with the assurance that *any*

*further information we might desire for the public benefit would be cheerfully furnished.* For the politeness thus shown we have to return *our particular thanks to Drs. Thomas S. Kirkbride, Isaac Ray, John S. Butler, and Moses H. Ranney; gentlemen who are so well known as eminent physicians and philanthropists, that it is needless for us to mention in connection with their names the institutions to which they belong, and which they have contributed so much to render famous.*"\*

Such was the manner in which we falsified the condition of the institutions which we were permitted fully to examine. The following passage will show what we thought of the Stillé or ostrich plan then, and how we had the "savage"-like assurance to find some fault with the Stillé-Brown theory:

"Indeed, all to whom we have applied on the subject, whether personally or by letter, *with the sole exception of the Superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum, cheerfully and promptly furnished us all the statistics within their reach.* Perhaps the only reason why Dr. D. Tilden Brown declined to give us any information relative to his institution was that his time was too valuable. But without going any farther for a comparison, Dr. Ranney, of the Blackwell's Island Asylum, had more than five times as many patients to attend to—an excess of the difference between 805 and 151—and yet the latter not only gave us information cheerfully on every subject in reference to which we sought it, but *accompanied us to every part of the Asylum, explaining or describing as we proceeded whatever seemed to require either.* True, Dr. Brown sent one of his assistants to show us *certain parts* of the house, but the only information worth mentioning given by him was, that a portion of land belonging to the Asylum would be sold for about \$20,000. This, however, was not intended for us, but for a gentleman who had much more money at command. It is but justice to Dr. Brown to say that we could not regard his course towards ourselves as any personal discourtesy, since he pursued the same towards the president of a college who brought a fine amateur band, consisting of his own students, to perform before the patients, as it seems he had done more than once before. Kindness and philanthropy like this merited at least a cordial recognition, but the

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\* "The Insane and their Treatment, Past and Present," *National Quarterly Review*, No. xiv., September, 1863.

humane president was treated quite as cavalierly as we were ourselves.

"We must confess it seemed to us that there was an air of mystery about the whole institution; nay, it looked more *like a prison than an asylum*. Not that there were any shackles, fetters, or other iron chains visible; we do not know that any such are used in the institution. But in any of the asylums which we have visited in Europe or America, we have never seen patients *so sullen, sad, and defiant*. It seemed as if most of those at the Bloomingdale *detested* the officers, while those who were in a lighter mood ridiculed them as they passed, but avoided as much as possible being heard or seen. So far as we could judge, without being too inquisitive, only one patient had liberty to go outside the Asylum alone; and this one got charge of our horse and wagon; the assistant-superintendent regarding it as a very funny thing that he drove so briskly around the building, but without making any effort to stop him. We do not wish to make any comment for the present on certain scenes which attracted our attention in the interior of the institution; suffice it to say that while passing one of the corridors one of the most respectable-looking of the patients threw some verses written with a pencil, by a graceful feminine hand, into our hat, of which the following lines will serve as a specimen:

"Alas! instead of Bloomingdale,  
Call this in future weeping vale,  
We're here, forsooth, because insane--  
Ah no! it is for others' gain,  
If sage as Plato, here we'd stay,  
While those who sent us agreed to pay."

Of course in this, too, we were "dishonest." We "attacked the honored superintendent." That much-injured functionary managed to procure a coat of whitewash from some of our newspapers; but if he tried to induce them to abuse us the editors declined that part of the work.

It may, perhaps, be regarded as a curious fact that some of the very journals which then defended Bloomingdale, have within the past year more than corroborated the worst charges we made against that institution ten years ago, so that it stands branded before the world at this moment as exactly the fraudulent thing we described it. Thus we contrasted Dr. Kirkbride, of the Pennsylvania Hos-

pital for the Insane, with Dr. Brown, of the Bloomingdale Asylum, ten years ago, just the same as we contrasted Dr. Barnard, of Columbia College, and Dr. Elliot, of Harvard College, with Dr. Stillé, of the University of Pennsylvania, three months ago, and do now!

Nor did we evince any different spirit, or arrive at any different relative conclusions, when we sought information for our article on Prison Discipline—visiting the chief prisons of several States, and writing to the wardens or governors of those which we were unable to visit. We may remark, parenthetically, that it is a singular fact, in view of our recent experience, that of all in charge of those institutions whom we addressed as "governor" or "warden," without giving them their exact title, not one informed us "there is no such person." (!) What is perhaps still more strange, not one of them wrote to us in bad English!

But let us see how we libelled Pennsylvanians in this instance. In order to show how "savage" we were, and how prone to falsification, we beg leave to extract a passage or two from our article. Thus, in discussing the solitary system, we proceed:

"This change was made at the beginning of 1828, but it was final; the Pennsylvania system has continued essentially the same to the present day. But whatever claim New York or any other State may have in connection with this subject, *let justice be done to Pennsylvania and her philanthropists.* We have already said that we visited the famous Cherry Hill Penitentiary, *strongly influenced* by those gloomy and startling accounts which we had been reading of it, from time to time, for *twenty years past.*"\*

After quoting from the annual reports, politely forwarded to us by the warden, governor, or provost, we continue our comments:

"We now felt that we could come to no satisfactory conclusion without visiting the establishment. Although often informed that this could not be done without an order from a magistrate, *we had no difficulty whatever.* We were introduced to Mr. Vaux, ex-mayor of

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\* "Prison Discipline, Past and Present."—N. Q. R., No. XIV., p. 18.

Philadelphia, and President of the Board of Inspectors of the prison, who was not only *perfectly willing* to admit us, but had the courtesy to *accompany us himself*, and to explain to us every peculiar feature of the institution, as we passed from cell to cell in each department, *concealing nothing, evading no query*; but on the contrary, *inviting investigation*, opening any cell for us that seemed more remarkable than the rest, and taking similar pains to show us the yards attached to the cells on the ground floor."\*

That our judgment was not warped, however, will, we think, be seen from the following:

"But no amount of kindness, good intentions, and philanthropy could prevent us from shuddering, as one by one the cells opened, exhibiting their solitary inmates as the impersonations of misery, wretchedness, and despair. Never shall we forget the scenes there presented; nor can we ever recur to them without pain. Not that the unfortunate people seem to *want for anything that a convict ought to expect*. All are *comfortably and cleanly clad*; they admit themselves that they get *plenty of wholesome food*; each cell is heated with steam; the ventilation is as good in general as that of any other prison we have seen; and almost every one we saw *had one or more books or magazines*.

"It is the solitude that seems terrible. We remember nothing more painfully interesting than the eagerness with which nine-tenths of the convicts hastened to look out into the corridor as soon as the thick, close door grated sullenly on its hinges. The few who did not thus rush to the door to get even one glance at the outside world, hid their faces in their beds, as if too sensible of their degradation to let any one see them. In order that they might feel at liberty to speak their minds freely, Mr. Vaux withdrew to some distance whenever *we desired to ask the prisoners any questions*."†

Before turning our attention to other similar institutions, we give further evidence of our "savage" disposition toward Pennsylvania as follows:

"We might easily add to these instances; but the subject is too painful to dwell upon. That the Inspectors do *all in their power to alleviate the sufferings* of the unfortunates placed under their care, we

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\* "Prison Discipline, Past and Present."—N. Q. R., No. XIV., Sept. 1863.

† *Ib.*



have seen every reason to believe. Mr. Vaux brought us into the library, which we were glad to find quite extensive, and to include many of the best standard works. We have certainly no disposition to criticise anything we saw during our visit. Without being unjust, we could find no fault with the manner in which the institution is managed; all we can say a word against is the solitary system, *per se*. But to us this seems the worst kind of slavery; if there is any other means by which human life can be more embittered, or human suffering aggravated, without instruments of physical torture, we know nothing of it. Therefore, believing that there is as much philanthropy and generosity in Pennsylvania as there is in any other country of equal population, we would earnestly appeal to those who have most influence in the State to have compassion on the wretched female convicts, if not on the male."\*

Our estimate of Sing Sing, one of the two great State prisons of New York, which we had also visited, was very different from this. The curious reader can find in the same article from which we have just quoted,† our descriptions of several instruments of torture then used which we were permitted to examine; also, a full account of the brutal practice of woman-flogging as given by one of the persons who performed that sort of work. But probably this was "all spite," because the Provost of Sing Sing "declined to advertise in, and subscribe for the National Quarterly Review" (!) Be this as it may, it is a singular fact, "if rightly apprehended," that for our "dishonesty" in this case we had the gratification of receiving many letters of thanks from ladies and gentlemen, not generally regarded as admirers of spiteful or dishonest people; and we have had the still greater gratification of learning that, within one year after we had made our criticisms on Sing Sing, all kinds of physical torture, including woman-flogging, had ceased in that institution.

But we may be permitted to give one other illustration, or two, before we close, of our peculiar mode of manifesting our prejudice and spite against Pennsylvanians. Our readers will remember that we rarely issued a number of our journal while Fisk and Gould had charge of the Erie Railroad in which we

\* "Prison Discipline, Past and Present."—N. Q. R., No. XIV., Sept., 1868.

† *Ib.* Pp. 30, 31.

did not denounce the dishonest, disreputable practices of those persons. Nor have we shrunk from showing that, while Vanderbilt may not be quite as devoid of honesty as Fisk and Gould, his stock of that virtue is exceedingly slender. Indeed, we never could see much difference between the "Colonel" and the "Commodore," further than that one vulture may be more cunning, if not less ravenous, than another in seizing and devouring its prey. In commenting on the various performances of these personages from time to time, we have more than once contrasted their conduct with that of such officers of the great Pennsylvania roads as Mr. J. Edgar Thompson and Mr. William H. Gatzmer. Nay, have we not often expressed an earnest wish that our principal roads were managed by men so much superior as the latter are to the former, not only in honesty, integrity, intelligence, and gentlemanly deportment, but in all the relations of life?

It is, however, but justice to the Philadelphia papers, which made such a fierce onslaught on us in January last—after having for thirteen years invariably treated us so politely and encouragingly—to admit that they were quite right in supposing that it would do us no harm in Philadelphia or elsewhere. We are sincerely proud to say that, for many years, we have had the honor of numbering not a few of the first and best citizens of Philadelphia among our patrons and friends—precisely the class who confessedly occupy the highest rank, both intellectually and socially. And far from having lost any of these, either on account of our "savage attack" on the University of Pennsylvania, or the storm of newspaper thunder it has brought upon us, incredible though the fact may seem in some quarters, we have gained many new patrons and friends among the same cultivated and honorable class. And what is more, we have no patrons anywhere of a different class; never had. The present number completes the thirteenth year of our journal. In any of the fifty-two quarterly numbers we have issued, who can point out the advertisement of any quack or charlatan, or any advertisement which the most fastidious lady may not read aloud in the drawing room? Even publishers, whose books have a tendency to vitiate the public taste, and who accompany their "editorial copies" with ready-

made puffs, discovered long since that our pages are not the place for them. The same is true of colleges and universities. The best in America have been advertised by the year in the *National Quarterly*; the *sham colleges* or *universities*—those that *love darkness rather than light*—never!

It is also true that many of our old friends, not only in Philadelphia, but throughout Pennsylvania, have letters of ours, which, if so disposed, they might call "begging letters," and publish as such, to show how full of depravity we are! and if they did so, we could neither accuse them of murdering the English language, nor of thrusting themselves into positions for which, as in the case under consideration, they are ludicrously incompetent.

But one word more, before we close, in regard to the defenders of the University of Pennsylvania and its learned Provost. The individual whom we are to consider as more erudite than all the rest has a long dissertation in the *Inquirer* of January 28, which, "if rightly apprehended," is as amusing as a comedy. Not content with annihilating us, he is terribly severe on our friend the German traveller. "This person," he says, "was guilty of *two barefaced, unblushing, and wholly gratuitous fictions*. Dr. Sears gives the fictions in full, declares they *were* fictions, but expects us to receive the subsequent statements of *this mendacious Teuton* as evidence against the University!" We make a thousand apologies to a "certain anonymous German," for having been the cause, however unintentionally, of the abuse poured upon himself and his whole race by this learned person; for what we have quoted is but the smallest part of it. But to those in the secret the most laughable of this gentleman's criticisms is contained in the following sentence:—

"Near the beginning of his article we have a quotation from Horace—of which more anon—and he concludes with a bit of Euripides, *which he owns he thinks pretty tough*."

Any one who turns to the conclusion of our first *window* article, will see that we make no allusion to either toughness or brittleness. Those who have any knowledge of Greek need not be informed that it was not because the two lines from

Euripides, alluded to, are "pretty tough" or difficult to be translated, that we recommended their being "inscribed in legible characters on a conspicuous slab," etc., but because they give very good advice, "if rightly apprehended;" advice notoriously much needed at the University of Pennsylvania. As the distich from Euripides has, however, evidently proved still more puzzling than our Latin letter, we inform all whom it may concern, that after giving some illustrations of the injury done to whole communities, as well as to individuals, by bombastic speeches and mutual puffery, the Greek poet concludes with the two lines recommended by us as a motto, and the plain English of which is: "It behooves us now to understand, that what we need is not blandishment that charms the ear, but what excites to *virtuous deed*." We admit, however, that we were entirely wrong in offering the advice in a Greek dress; we fear that even two years hence, Provost Stillé would make a still sadder jumble of it than his now famous construction, "*renunciationem nuntiet*." But we trust we shall never be too old to learn, or so short-sighted and vain as not to acknowledge that there are innumerable things of which we are ignorant. Accordingly, in order to make amends, as far as possible, for our blunder in recommending a Greek motto for the University of Pennsylvania under its present auspices, we now beg leave, in all humility, to recommend an English motto, which may be posted up in the "Provost's Room," on one of the memorial windows or any other place that may be deemed most suitable for it:

"Ignorance, indeed, so far as it may be resolved into natural inability, is, as to men at least, inculpable, and consequently not the object of scorn, *but pity*; but in a *governor*, it cannot be without the conjunction of the *highest impudence*; for who bid *such a one* aspire to *teach and to govern*? A *blind man* sitting in the chimney-corner is pardonable enough, *but sitting at the helm he is intolerable*. If men will be ignorant and illiterate, let them be so *in private*, and *to themselves*, and not set their defects in a *high place*, to make them visible and conspicuous. If *owls* will not be *hooted at*, let them keep close within the tree, and not perch upon the upper boughs."\*

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\* *Ignorance in Power*. An Essay. By the learned Dr. Robert Smith, Orator of Oxford University, London, 1657.

- ART. VI.—1. *Considerations on Volcanoes.* By G. POULETT SCROPE. London, 1825. Last Ed. 1871.
2. *Considerations Generales sur les Volcans.* Par M. J. GIRARDIN. Paris, 1831.
3. *Théorie Mathématique de la Chaleur.* Par M. POISSON. 4to. Paris, 1835–1837.
4. *The Eruption of Vesuvius in 1872.* By Prof. LUIGI PALMIERI. With Notes, etc.; by Robert Mallet, Mem. Inst. C. E., F. R. S., F. G. S., M. R. I. S., etc. With Illustrations. 148 pp. 8vo. London: Asher & Co., 1873.

How wonderful is the phenomenon of existence! We see physical nature around us on all sides, and effects which we attribute to the action of mind. Natural things seem to be naturally divided into three great classes: minerals, which possess neither mind nor life; vegetables, which possess life but not mind; and animals, which possess both life and mind. It is difficult, however, to draw the line of distinction between any two consecutive classes as we have given them, for the lichen, which lives on the apparently naked rock, is scarcely raised above the frost-plant which forms on our window-pane; and the animal sponge, which grows attached to a rock beneath the surface of the ocean, seems to be little more than a vegetable. We may thus see existence rising by almost insensible gradations, from the lifeless mineral to the highest order of mundane intelligence.

Notwithstanding the difficulty which we readily see here, of accounting rationally for the general phenomena to which we have alluded, man, in his ignorance of causes, and even of phenomena in their detail, has authoritatively told us how nothing has changed into something, minerals have been created, and afterwards vegetables and animals. Nay, more than that; he has even told us the exact date when all these great changes took place. Those who base their knowledge on the authority of a word, scarcely stop to consider that for infinite

duration before the introduction of matter into the universe, or the conversion of a vacuum into a plenum, the great Mind of the universe must have been without employment, at least such as we have any conception of. Mind and matter must have always existed. The universe is subject to continual change, but there is neither creation nor annihilation.

But how different is the story which science tells us! A close scrutiny of the phenomena of nature, as they are successively produced by the changes which take place in the physical world, reveals to us immutable laws which control the operations of the material universe, and even the phenomena of mind, so far as we see it manifested in this world. As yet, at least, we have not been able to discover any exception to this general truth. By observing the facts which the material world presents to us, and comparing them through the medium of the fixed laws of nature, we are carried back to a beginning of the present order of things in our world; but all the facts that we have yet been able to gather make known to us but very little in relation to the amount of time which has been necessary to work all the changes that have taken place, and absolutely nothing respecting the date of the origin of this world. As we have said, science teaches us that there *was* a beginning, and we may truthfully say that we have learned very little respecting the nature of the present order of things.

We might perhaps show with a good degree of reason that what is known as the Nebular Hypothesis has a foundation in the actual operations of nature.\* The examination and co-ordination of the facts observed on the earth and in the heavens, teach us that some process like that implied in the nebular hypothesis has been followed by nature in her method of world-making. Although it cannot be claimed that this is universally admitted among men of science, yet they who view it as a very probable hypothesis are by no means isolated examples. This hypothesis requires that a former condition of the earth was one of fluidity, and that the in-

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\* See National Quarterly Review, No. XXXII, art. vi.

ternal parts may yet be in a highly heated state, if not actually molten. Indeed, until quite recently, the belief has been nearly general that the earth is composed of a solid crust of no great thickness, enclosing a molten interior, which is still the source of the internal fire of the earth. But whether we assume this to be true or not, it is demonstratively certain that portions of the interior of the earth, if not the whole interior, are highly heated, and this heat may properly be spoken of as the *internal fire of our globe*. In relation to the elevated temperature, or even molten state of internal parts of the earth, there is no disagreement; the question in dispute is whether all or only portions are in a fluid condition. But with this part of geological theory, we have but little concern at this time.\* Indeed, the proper task of the geologist begins after the earth's crust has assumed its present condition, or one that is in many respects similar. The earliest processes in the formation of a crust, supposing the solidifying process to begin at the surface, could scarcely have left their impress on the existing strata.

M. Poisson, in his work on heat, has controverted the doctrines of a high internal temperature. His opinion is, that if the earth ever cooled down from a liquid state to its present condition, the consolidation would have begun at the centre, and not at the surface, as it is generally considered to have done. The temperature which the earth at present exhibits, M. Poisson thinks, is not inherent; that is, it did not originally possess an elevated temperature, but in passing through space, by the motion of the solar system, it somewhere reached a position where its temperature was much increased, and the effects of that is what we now observe. This is not only a gratuitous hypothesis, but one which a little consideration will show to be highly improbable. If it should pass sufficiently near a star, or a cluster of stars, to receive heat enough to be so marked in its influence, the mechanical motions communicated to the planets would derange their rel-

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\* For a sketch of the early history of geology, and a general view of the formation of the earth, see N. Q. R., No. XLIII., Art. V.

ative motions about the sun to such an extent that they could be easily traced by mathematical analysis. Besides, the heat would be much more intense than that derived from the sun at present.\* The conservation and correlation of force enable us to render a much more satisfactory account of the origin of internal terrestrial temperature.

It seems probable that the liquid condition of the earth is at present exhibited approximately by the sun. The formation of a crust would, perhaps, begin in spots, which would many times be re-melted before the existence of a crust would become permanent; and the contraction of the earth, in consequence of cooling, would cause the shell to wrinkle and produce hills and valleys, which would often be destroyed, because it can be shown that such a condition of surface would not be permanent.† Many changes must have taken place before any revolutions could have left their impress so as to be visible in the formations as they now exist. The earth's crust would not be stable, if its thickness were only a few miles, as has heretofore been supposed.

The astronomical phenomenon known as the precession of the equinoxes has, within a few years past,‡ been used to show that the earth must be nearly solid throughout. The precession for a homogeneous shell (which proves to be the same as that for a homogeneous solid earth) is compared with that for a heterogeneous shell, from which the minimum thickness of the shell is deduced, and it is found to be about one thousand miles. Archdeacon Pratt shows that the crushing effect of mountain masses like the Himalayas, and of the crust of the earth itself, is so great that a thickness much less than a thousand miles would not be able to resist it.

While we admit, however, that Mr. Hopkins' numerical results are the most definite of any that have hitherto been deduced, we must not fail to observe that they are based on a hypothetical law of density, namely, that the pressure varies

\* See Whewell's *Hist. Ind. Sciences*, Vol. iii, p. 612.

† Hopkins' *Philosophical Transactions*, 1839-40-42. Pratt's *Figure of the Earth*, pp. 83-5.

‡ *Figure of the Earth*, p. 86.



with the square of the density. This law was assumed by Laplace, to enable him to integrate his formulæ for determining theoretically the figure of the earth. The probability that this law is nearly or quite the true law of nature, is very great, yet it would be well if it could be experimentally verified. It serves for determining very correctly, by calculation, the value of the precession of the equinoxes; but all the results are based on the continuity of the law of density, though there is a small probability, when we consider the facts presented by geology, that the *real* law of density is discontinuous somewhere between the surface and the centre, and yet such as to give the same value of the precession.

Many substances are of such a nature that pressure exerted upon them assists their solidification. The central portions of the earth may, therefore, be solid, even if the temperature be greater than what is required to fuse them at the surface. Mr. Hopkins imagines that the cooled masses—which ordinarily would sink, owing to their greater specific gravity—would ultimately be prevented from sinking, by the imperfect liquidity of the material beneath. Thus, a solid surface shell would be formed, an interior highly heated solid nucleus, and a liquid stratum between, either continuous or discontinuous, according to circumstances, and of more or less perfect fluidity in different parts.\* This seems to be a very probable hypothesis, and one perhaps that will account for all, or the most of the volcanic and earthquake phenomena of the present era, and of such as the earth's crust exhibits as having taken place in former times.

As an evidence that the interior of the earth has a much higher temperature than the surface, the geologist finds a gradual increase in the height of the thermometer as it is carried farther below the earth's surface. Very many experiments have been made on mines and artesian wells, and they

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\*We may add that the different rates of increase of temperature, presently to be noticed, in descending towards the centre, as observed in mines and artesian wells, seems to favor the unequal distribution of heat and fusible and conducting material, in the interior portions of the earth, which lie about the liquid streams.

all show an increase of temperature as we descend. Objections have been raised in relation to the results obtained in mines, since the breath of the miners, the heat given out by lamps, and the explosion of gunpowder, would necessarily add something to the natural heat in the mines; but, on the other hand, the circulation of cold air through the shafts of the mines would tend to counteract the effects of the above causes.

Solar heat is the principal cause of the superficial temperature of the earth, and we may readily conclude that its effects are felt to some distance beneath the terrestrial surface. Baron Fourier fixes 130 feet as the maximum depth, and M. Poisson gives 76 feet. The diurnal effect does not extend much below three or four feet. According to some experiments made by Professor Forbes, near Edinburgh, the annual oscillations of temperature would cease at the depth of 49 feet in trap tufa, 62 feet in incoherent sand, and 91 feet in compact sandstone.

From observations on springs in mines in Saxony, Brittany, Cornwall, and Mexico, the average number of feet of descent necessary to raise the thermometer (Fah.) one degree, varies from 45 to 351 feet, with a general average of fourteen localities of 92 feet. Observations on the temperature of the rocks in various localities in Europe give a rather more rapid increase, the numbers varying between 31 and 174 feet, for an increase of one degree. Observations on artesian wells give slightly different results.

Some very careful experiments made by Prof. Phillips in two shafts, one near Durham and the other near Manchester, each of them 2,000 feet deep, give an increase of  $1^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit for every 65 to 70 feet.\* Mr. Fox fixed a thermometer in the rock of the Dolcoath mine, in Cornwall, at the depth of 1,380 feet, and observed it frequently for a year and a half, and his result was that there is an increase of  $1^{\circ}$  for every 75 feet.† According to the result at which M. Cordier arrived in his numerous experiments and observations, there is

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\*Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, Vol. ii, p. 805.

†Ibid.

in general a rapid increase of heat in descending; but the increase does not follow the same law in all parts of the earth; nor does there appear to be any law dependent on either the latitude or longitude. He thinks that we may take an increase of  $1^{\circ}$  Fah. for every 45 feet, as a general average that will be not far from the truth.\*

An artesian well in Charleston, South Carolina, bored to the depth of 1,106 feet, gives an average increase of  $1^{\circ}$  Fah. for 52 feet of descent, but the heat does not increase regularly with the depth, but it was greatest about those places at which streams of water were encountered.

But we have already given a sufficient number of observations to show the general result to which they lead, namely, a gradual increase of temperature from the surface of the earth towards the centre, to the greatest depth yet attained. If we assume as the most probable average result that there is an increase of  $1^{\circ}$  Fah. for an increasing depth of every 60 feet, we shall not be far from the truth. This increase of temperature is sufficient, as we may easily see, to carry us, after a few miles of descent, to a point where all known rocks would be fused if the conditions were the same as at the surface; and this has led many geologists, heretofore, to the conclusion that, except a crust of quite limited thickness, the earth is in a molten condition. But the greater number of the substances which compose the earth's crust have their fusing-points raised, as we have already mentioned, by pressure; and since the pressure exerted at great depths must be enormous, and it increases with the depth, we see that the melting-point will descend lower and lower, and at what temperature that point will be reached we cannot at present tell.

The hypothesis of a molten nucleus of great extent led geologists very legitimately to the conclusion that igneous causes of change were formerly much more powerful and active than at present. If we extend our period back sufficiently we shall most certainly arrive at such a time; but that any effects of such action have left their impress on existing strata may

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\* *Mem. de l'Institut de France*, tom. vii.

well be questioned; that is, to the extent that has generally been supposed.

It seems difficult for scientific men to rid themselves of the idea that nature is limited in time in performing her operations. Thus it was that the earlier geologists imagined changes in the earth's crust to take place with violence, and in short periods of time, since it was thought necessary to limit the time during which the earth's crust was assuming its present condition to a comparatively short period. So much for the influence which a myth has exerted on the progress of science. The advance of physical science is measureably in proportion to the liberation of the human mind from the bondage of authority.\*

Dr. James Hutton, towards the close of the last century, introduced quite a new order of investigations, by endeavoring to show that existing causes are sufficient as far as we can legitimately look, when we would account for the existing order and arrangement observable in the structure of the crust of the earth. Playfair still further illustrated and explained, in elegantly written works, the ideas of Hutton. In still more recent times Lyell has, by his patient investigations, varied acquirements, and learned works on the subject, done much to show that causes now in operation are well-nigh sufficient to produce all the phenomena observable in the mineralogical structure of the earth. Still we must not forget to call the attention of the reader to the fact—exemplified in many ways—that he who attempts to push a theory to its utmost extent is in danger of not seeing all facts in their true light. We are too apt to jump from one extreme to another, leaving some one else, who can philosophically view both sides, to draw the legitimate conclusion from the whole range of existing facts. It is difficult to take into consideration all known causes, powerful and weak, and allow

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\* The authority of Newton in retarding the progress of physical optics has been referred to by Prof. Tyndall in his recent lectures in New York; but the influence of theologic cosmogony in retarding the progress of geologic science by preventing the otherwise philosophic mind from making the best use of the facts of nature, has been still more marked.

for them to the extent, neither more nor less, which the nature of the case requires.

Although the influence of causes now in operation is probably sufficient to produce, the time being unlimited, by far the greater part of the changes which have taken place in past ages, in the earth's crust, yet it seems to be highly probable that igneous causes, at least, were, in the early periods of the earth's physical history, rather more powerful and active than in more modern periods. Some proof of this will be given in its proper place.\*

The principal inequalities of the earth's surface have been produced by the action of igneous causes acting from beneath the surface. Water is, and it has been, a powerful agent in changing the general features which we observe, but it is a great leveller, and never, with some insignificant exceptions, produces superficial inequalities. Water loosens the materials on which it acts, and thus enables the force of gravity to bring them to lower levels, and in this way produce a general equilibrium of surface. Igneous forces, on the other hand, in general tend to produce inequalities of the surface by elevating, which may cause depressions in others. Three-quarters of a century ago, geologists had but little correct knowledge respecting the structure of mountains and mountain chains, and of the causes which elevated them. Pallas and De Saussure, near the close of the last century, made some useful observations on the general structure of mountains; but it was not till the time of Von Buch, and after him M. Elis de Beaumont, that much progress was made in the investigation of the anatomical structure of mountains, if the expression may be allowed. According to the observations of Beaumont, the older strata, or those which are in general found lowest in the series, lying next to the granite core of the mountain,

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\* The present physical constitution of the sun is a type on a grand scale of what the earth once was, if the nebular hypothesis has a foundation in nature. The solar spots are perhaps vast islands or continents, which are formed by the cooling of parts of the solar surface, and then by sinking they again become melted. The early islands and continents on the earth were probably subjected to such vicissitudes.

are inclined as if they had been raised up when the mountain was elevated; while resting on these are others and newer strata which have a horizontal position. Thus it would appear that by observing the kind of strata which are inclined, and those which are horizontal, we can determine the relative ages of mountains and mountain systems; for if some of the older series of strata were horizontal in one case, and inclined in another, our legitimate conclusion from these data would be that the latter mountains were elevated more recently than the former; while both might be older than other mountains which show an inclination of still newer strata. These were the principles which guided M. de Beaumont in his extensive generalizations on this subject.\*

In some cases, and perhaps many, the strata are not only inclined, but they are folded and contorted as if they had been subjected to a powerful lateral pressure while they were in a plastic state. Whatever theory of mountain formation we adopt, it must account for this plication of strata. Our theories are often defective for the want of properly conducted experiments under conditions as nearly resembling those which nature presents as possible. The observations and experiments of Sharpe, Sorby, Houghton and Tyndall, show quite conclusively that slaty cleavage is due to pressure acting under particular circumstances, the resulting planes of cleavage being perpendicular to the direction of the force of pressure. Tyndall shows that a fine clay or almost any impalpable material, when subjected to pressure, and allowed at the same time to spread laterally, assumes a laminated structure. These facts are of high importance in explaining the formation and structure of mountain masses.

Observations on the strata surrounding mountain masses show, as has already been mentioned, that they are often much curved and distorted, as if they had become somewhat softened, and then subjected to great pressure. These distortions are especially found in the older strata. The continual

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\* *Systèmes de Montagnes*, 1852. "Dictionnaire universelle d'Hist. naturelle," tome xii.

denudation of exposed strata has changed their outward appearance very much. In many cases newer strata have been formed covering the inclined and curved ones, the former being horizontal. All hypotheses, the object of which is to explain the *modus operandi* of the formation of mountain systems, take into consideration this distortion of strata, but in nearly every one it is made a subordinate part of the theory. One recently proposed by Professor Joseph Le Conte makes this folding of strata the principal cause which immediately gives rise to the elevation of mountain chains. Since this hypothesis seems at present to be by far the most plausible of any yet imagined, we shall briefly explain its general features.

Suppose, then, the earth has reached, in the process of cooling, a condition some such as we have already explained, namely, a solid crust sufficiently stable to be no longer subject to such changes as would destroy any part of it, while beneath it the heat was sufficiently great to maintain some portions in a molten condition, or at least possibly so, the great nucleus beneath being perhaps mainly solid from a loss of temperature and from pressure. The liquid parts would be perhaps rather streams than a continuous stratum, extending completely around all parts of the earth. Surrounding space, notwithstanding the influence of the sun, would still be so much colder than the earth, that the refrigeration of it would yet continue, and the earth, as a whole, must grow smaller by contraction. The outer crust—whose thickness would necessarily be limited to a very few miles—would be so nearly cold with respect to surrounding space that the heat which it received from the interior would be radiated from its external surface without the temperature of the crust itself being much increased or diminished. Such a crust could not possibly be sufficiently self-supporting to be maintained as a shell, disconnected from the interior and much more heated nucleus. The result would be that the crust would give way in some parts by sinking down, and in others by rising up, thus changing the level surface into hollows and elevations, or, if this did not take place, the crust would be *crushed* together in the weaker parts,



and forced up above the general level, and thus form mountain chains. The first supposition is untenable, since the elevated portions of the crust would be brought to a lower level by the force of gravity alone; so that, if such a condition of things were possible, it could not long be maintained. According to the other supposition, the parts where the crushing together took place would gradually become thicker (for these changes could not be sudden in any ordinary sense of the word), and more and more unyielding, until an equilibrium was reached. We easily see that these changes would either produce plication of strata if plastic, or broken strata if rigid. We, therefore, find that the immediate cause of the elevation of mountain ranges is the folding and bending up of strata. The subjacent matter would effectually prevent any great amount of increase of thickness downward.

This hypothesis of the origin of mountain masses explains in a very satisfactory manner the origin of slaty cleavage. This cleavage exists in most mountains. According to the experiments already cited, where a great pressure was applied to plastic clay, a cube of the material would, on the average, according to Professor Le Conte, be crushed from two and a half miles into one, and, by supposing the whole extension in a vertical direction, 10,000 feet of thickness would be pressed into 25,000 feet, or an increase in thickness of 15,000 feet, which would produce a mountain of considerable elevation.

Professor Hall was the first to draw special attention to the fact that mountain chains are composed of immense masses of sediments, even much thicker than the mountains themselves. We hence see that what are mountain masses now were once the bottom of seas of greater or less extent, for the sediment must have been deposited at the bottom of bodies of water. Where the Appalachian chain now stands, there existed an ancient ocean, called by geologists the *Paleozoic Sea*. The sediment deposited in this sea, and which now forms the Appalachian range, was washed largely from a great continental mass lying to the north, called the Laurentian area. A discussion of the facts in relation to the mountains lying in the western part of this continent leads to similar conclu-



sions in regard to their origin. After the Rocky Mountains were formed, where the Sierras now exist a sea probably existed, and after the elevation of the latter range the sea-coast was removed to the west considerably further, and succeeding this change, the coast range was formed, and the great Pacific Ocean is the sea which now washes the western margin of this continent.

Extensive chains of mountains, like the Rocky and the Andes, were, then, according to this view, raised up from the bottom of extensive seas; and we may conclude that smaller and irregular ranges are the sediment deposited in interior seas of less extent. The reader will now ask how it is that sea-bottoms are more likely to become the lines along which the surface yields to the horizontal thrust, as we have explained. This we shall explain in a few words. Mr. Babbage and Sir John Herschel first drew attention to the fact that the interior heat of the earth would extend itself into the sediment, which, as we have seen, accumulates to a great depth. Thus the influence of the water and the interior temperature would soften the ocean beds and cause them to yield to the pressure exerted by the contraction of the earth, and in due course of time the mountain would be produced. According to this view, the beds of the two great oceans may be now rising; and soundings in the Gulf stream lend some plausibility to this view.

Professor De Conte sums up in relation to this hypothesis as follows: "It explains satisfactorily the following facts. 1. The most usual position of mountain chains near continental coasts. 2. When there are several *ranges* belonging to one system, they have usually been formed successively coast-ward. 3. Mountain chains are masses of immensely thick sediments. 4. The strata of which mountains are composed are strongly folded, and where the materials are suitable, affected with slaty cleavage, both the folds of the cleavage planes being usually parallel to the mountain chain. 5. The strata of mountain chains are usually affected with metamorphism, which is great in proportion to the height of the mountains and the complexity of the foldings. 6. Great

fissure-eruptions and volcanoes are usually associated with mountain chains. 7. Many other phenomena—such as fissures, slips, earthquakes, and the subsidence preceding the elevation of mountains, it equally accounts for.” We may further add that it accounts for the existence of marine shells on the tops of mountains.

Fissure-eruptions, to which reference has been made, are phenomena which afford good proof that igneous causes were once more active in modifying the present appearance of the earth than they are at present. The great amount of lava that exists in the Sierras and the coast ranges, and especially in the former, renders it impossible that it could have flowed from volcanic craters. In the middle of California immense separate streams of lava begin, but in the northern part these become a general flood not less than two or three hundred feet thick, and this continues through Oregon where the flood of lava is still more extensive, and the thickness has increased to two thousand feet; thence on through Washington Territory and into British Columbia to an unknown distance, the whole embracing an area seven or eight hundred miles long, and eighty to a hundred in width. The lava has completely covered this tract, and where the Columbia river cuts through it, it is from two thousand to three thousand feet thick. There are a score, perhaps, of extinct volcanoes scattered over this area, but it seems impossible that the great amount of lava to which we have referred could have ever flowed from their craters.

Supposing the preceding theory to be approximately correct, it may not usually happen that mountains are still rising in any given period of time, though there seems to be some evidence that the Andes are still increasing in elevation above the level of the sea. It seems that they have been gradually rising century after century at the rate of several feet, while the pampas on the east have been raised only a few inches in the same time.\* If there be liquids and gases beneath the earth's surface, the pressure exerted by the con-

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\* Lyell's *Prin. of Geol.*, Vol 1., p. 129.

traction of the crust might cause them to change their position. If one part of the crust should sink (and this might take place if the equilibrium of the forces in action were disturbed), the fluid parts would be driven in greater quantities to other places, and this process would assist in lifting up other parts. That the molten material does change its position is indicated by Vesuvius and such volcanoes as seem to have been extinct for many centuries, but afterwards become active. Extinct volcanoes, at present so called, also indicate the same thing, especially if volcanoes are as numerous now as in former periods.\*

The unstableness of the apparently solid crust of our globe is shown by the fact now well settled, that parts of the Scandinavian peninsula are gradually rising, while other parts seem to be gradually sinking. The Swedish naturalist, Celsius, early in the eighteenth century, gave his opinion that the waters of the Baltic sea and the Northern ocean were gradually sinking. From numerous observations he inferred that the rate of depression was about thirty-nine inches in a century. Several objections were raised against these conclusions, and some of the proofs given by Celsius were immediately controverted by the philosophers of his day.

Since the time of Celsius, however, it has been conclusively proved that the relative height of the land and water is variable. In 1807, after an examination of the Scandinavian peninsula, M. Von Buch makes this statement: "It is certain that the level of the sea cannot subside; the equilibrium of the waters forbids it. Yet the phenomenon of their retreat is no less unquestionable, and there remains but one admissible idea—that of a general upheaval of the land from Frederickshall to Abo, and perhaps to St. Petersburg." At the suggestion of Celsius, marks had been cut in the rocks at Pefle and Calmar; and Linnaeus had also traced a level on a block, which he describes with precision. In one place a maritime city had

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\* That mountain chains have been the yielding line in the shrinking of the crust, *because* the solid parts were thinner, and more molten matter beneath, is rendered probable by the fact that mountains are often volcanoes, and many have been, but they are now extinct, the liquid having solidified.

become an inland one, and in another an arm of the sea had become transformed into a highway. All these facts led the people of the country to the belief that the waters were diminishing. The conclusion of Von Buch, which we have just given, was the first expressed by a practical geologist after a personal examination.

The observation of Lyell in 1834, and MM. Levén, Erdmann, and Nordenskiöld, since then lead to the same conclusion as that expressed by Von Buch. "After a review of all that has been said and published on this subject since the commencement of this century," says Lyell, "I am inclined to believe, with the pilots, fishermen, and engineers, that a slow alteration in the relative level of land and sea is taking place along certain parts of the Swedish coast."\* The elevatory force, however, has not been constant in its action, but intermittent, with long pauses of rest.†

Since Scandinavia has been comparatively free from violent earthquakes within the times of authentic history, the rise of land there seems a strange phenomenon; but in the southern part it seems to be subsiding. Observations in Greenland show that a portion of that country also is subsiding.‡ The instances to which we have now referred are sufficient to show that these slow changes in the relative level of the land and water, if continued in the same direction, will in the course of time produce new continents and islands, and new ocean beds. Man, continually adapting himself to these changes, scarcely perceives that they are taking place. It is the sudden changes which sometimes affect large though limited areas, that more especially attract man's attention, and teach how unstable is the solid earth on which he lives. These changes are brought about by earthquakes, which seem to affect, at one period of time or another, nearly, if not quite, every region of country on the globe. "Earthquakes manifest themselves by quick and successive vertical, or horizontal, or rotatory vibrations. In the very considerable

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\* *Principles of Geology*, Vol. ii., p. 188.

† *Id.*, pp. 195-6.

‡ *Id.*, pp. 196-7.

number of earthquakes which I have experienced in both hemispheres, alike on land and at sea, the two first-named kinds of motion have often appeared to me to occur simultaneously. The mine-like explosion—the vertical action from below upwards—was most strikingly manifested in the overthrow of the town of Riobamba in 1797, when the bodies of many of the inhabitants were found to have been hurled to Culca, a hill several hundred feet in height and on the opposite side of the river Lican.”\* Such is a brief general description of the motion of the earth’s crust during an earthquake. Earthquakes are among the most fearful phenomena which are recorded in the history of our planet. Volcanoes are much more local in their nature, however violent their eruptions may sometimes be, and man can much more easily escape from them. Earthquakes often come suddenly upon him, and he knows not whither to flee to place himself beyond their immediate reach.

Earthquakes differ greatly in intensity. Sometimes the agitation produced is so weak that it is sensible only to those who are accustomed to such phenomena. At other times, however, they are so terrific that the earth reels and trembles as if its foundations were about to give way; cities are destroyed, whole districts laid waste, and the entire aspect of a country is in a few moments changed—its mountains are overthrown, its rivers are changed from their courses or are dried up, and lakes are suddenly engulfed. “From our infancy,” says Humboldt, “the idea of certain contrasts fixes itself in our mind; water appears to us an element that moves—earth a motionless and inert mass. These ideas are the effects of daily experience; they are connected with every thing that is transmitted to us by the senses. When a shock is felt, when the earth is shaken on its old foundations, which we had deemed so stable, one instant is sufficient to destroy long illusions. It is like awakening from a dream, but a painful awakening. We feel that we have been deceived by the apparent

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\* Humboldt, in *Cosmos*, vol. i., p. 199. This powerful vertical movement would seem to indicate the action of confined gases.

calm of nature—we become attentive to the least noise—we distrust for the first time a soil on which we had so long placed our feet with confidence. If the shocks be repeated, if they become frequent during successive days, the uncertainty quickly disappears. In 1784 the inhabitants of Mexico were as accustomed to hear the thunders roll beneath their feet as we are to witness the vivid flash in the region of the clouds. Confidence easily springs up in the human mind, and we end by accustoming ourselves to the undulations of the ground, like the sailors to the tossing of the ship caused by the motion of the waves.”

Although we are quite unaccustomed to the phenomena of earthquakes, yet they are so numerous, when the whole earth is considered, that scarcely a day passes without some place on the globe being visited by one or more of them. If such be the case in our day, we may readily conclude that they have been equally numerous in all ages of the world. There is no class of physical phenomena which are attributable to igneous causes, that produces so sudden and extensive changes in the earth's crust as earthquakes.

In 1692 the island of Jamaica was visited by a violent earthquake, during which the ground swelled and heaved like the rolling sea. The earth was traversed by numerous cracks, as many as two or three hundred being often seen at one time, opening and closing again. Many people were swallowed up in these rents, some caught about the middle and squeezed to death. In other cases the heads of persons only appeared above the ground, and some were first engulfed and then cast up with great quantities of water. The devastation was general, and in the town of Port Royal, then the capital, where more houses were left standing than in all the rest of the island, three-fourths of the houses and the ground on which they stood sank down with their inhabitants entirely under water.\*

The small island of Sorea, one of the Moluccas, consists of one great volcano, which was in eruption in 1693. Different parts of the cone fell in, one after another, and the crater,

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\*Lyell's *Prin. Geol.*, Vol. ii, p. 160.

which now covered nearly half the island, was converted into a fiery lake. The shocks of the earthquake which attended this catastrophe became less frequent as the fiery lake extended its boundaries.\* In the same year, on the 11th of January, the city of Catania and forty-nine other places in the island of Sicily were levelled to the ground by shocks of earthquakes, and about 100,000 people were killed. In 1698, July 19th, during an earthquake in Quito, a great part of the crater and summit of the volcano Carquaivazo fell in, and a stream of water and mud flowed from the broken sides of the hill. In 1699, January 5th, a terrific earthquake visited the island of Java, and no less than 208 considerable shocks were reckoned.

On the 28th of October, 1746, there occurred in Peru a most violent earthquake. No less than two hundred shocks were experienced during the first twenty-four hours. Twice the ocean retired, and returned with great force upon the land. Twenty-three ships and vessels were in the harbor of Callao, nineteen of which were sunk, and the other four were carried by the force of the waves a great distance up the country, and there left on dry land at a considerable height above the sea. The city of Lima was destroyed, and a part of the coast near Callao was converted into a bay. Four other harbors shared a similar fate. Only two hundred inhabitants out of 4,000 in the city were saved. In 1751 an earthquake in Chili destroyed the ancient town of Concepcion, or Penco, and the sea rolled over it.

One of the most terrific earthquakes of modern times is that which commenced at Lisbon, on the 1st of November, 1755. The first warning which the inhabitants had of the coming danger was a rumbling sound like thunder, which seemed to be underground. This preceded by only a moment a tremendous shock which threw down the greater part of the city. About 60,000 persons perished in the course of about six minutes. Those who survived the first shock, which was immediately followed by two others, fled so precipitately

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\*De la Buche's *Manual of Geology*, p. 133, 2d ed.

that they scarcely stopped to remove a stone from their dearest friend, though many might have been saved by such timely assistance. Nothing but self-preservation seemed to have been thought of. "Those lost in houses and streets," says Mr. Wolfall, "were very unequal to those that were buried in the ruins of churches; for as it was a day of great devotion, and the time of celebrating mass, all the churches were vastly crowded, and the number of churches here exceeds that of both London and Westminster; and as the steeples are built high, they mostly fell with the roof of the church, and the stones are so large that few escaped. I lodged in a house where there were thirty-eight inhabitants, and only four were saved. In the city prison eight hundred were lost, twelve hundred in the general hospital, and a great number of convents of four hundred each. The palace tumbled the first shock, but the natives insist that the Inquisition was the first building that fell down." The first shock was felt at nine o'clock and forty minutes in the morning.

As misfortunes rarely come single-handed, a conflagration was added to the horrors of the earthquake. During the whole of the following winter, the people of Lisbon had no better dwellings than the tents which they erected in the fields. As great as the suffering was, it must have been greater had not the charity of others relieved their more pressing wants. The English parliament granted a large sum of money, grain, wearing apparel, blankets, and other things were added. Spain, also, rendered all the assistance in her power.

During this shock the sea first retired and laid dry the bar; it then rolled in and rose fifty feet or more above its ordinary level. The mountains of Arribida, Estrella, Julio, Marvan, and Cintra, some of the largest in Portugal, were violently shaken, and some of them opened at their summits, which were split and torn in a wonderful manner, large masses of them being thrown down into the subjacent valley.\* According to Humboldt,† a portion of the earth's surface, four times as great as that of Europe, was simultaneously shaken." The

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\* *Principles of Geology*, Vol. ii. p. 147.

† *Cosmos*, Vol. i, p. 206.



shock was felt on the coast of Sweden, on the shores of the Baltic, in Thuringia, in Northern Germany, in the Alps, and in Great Britain. Also in the West Indies, in the great lakes between Canada and the United States; and in the north of Africa, where, about eight leagues from Morocco, it is said that a village with its inhabitants, numbering about eight or ten thousand persons, was swallowed up, the earth soon afterwards closing over it. Besides these places, the shock was felt a considerable distance at sea off the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The movements of the earth travelled at the rate of about twenty miles a minute.

The earthquake of Calabria, which began in February, 1783, is about the only one that occurred in the last century, whose history and circumstances have been so fully related as to assist, very materially, the geologist in understanding the effects which such phenomena produce on the general features of the earth's surface, during the lapse of centuries.\* Although shocks were felt during four years (to the end of 1786), yet in duration and extent this earthquake was not particularly remarkable as compared with what have been experienced in other countries during the last or the present century.

According to Pignataro, a physician residing at Monteleone, a town in the centre of the convulsions, there were, in 1783, 949 shocks, of which he calls 501 of the first degree, and in 1784 there were 151, of which 98 were of the first order with respect to force. Although a considerable extent of territory was shaken, yet only about five hundred square miles of surface were so violently disturbed as to excite intense alarm. That part of Italy is chiefly composed, according to Lyell, of argillaceous strata of great thickness, containing marine shells and sometimes associated with beds of sand and limestone. It seems highly probable that the violence of earthquake shocks is dependent to a considerable extent on the nature of

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\* See on this subject Vivenzio's *Istoria de' Tremuoli della Calabria*, del 1783; Grimaldi's *Descriz de' Tremuoli Accad. nelle Calabria nel 1783*. Also see Lyell's *Prin. Geol.* vol. ii. Chap. xxix.

the strata which are disturbed. According to the observations made by Mr. Sharpe at Lisbon, in 1837, the destructive effects of the great earthquake of 1755 were confined to the tertiary strata, and were most violent on the blue clay, on which the lower part of the city rests. According to him, not a building on the secondary limestone or the basalt was injured.\*

The first shock (of February 5th, 1783) threw down the greater part of the houses in all the cities and towns and villages, where the destruction was greatest, and convulsed the whole surface of the country. All this took place in the course of two minutes. Another shock occurred on the 28th of March following, of nearly equal violence. During the first shock the granite chain of mountains, which pass through Calabria from north to south, and attain an elevation of several thousand feet, was but little shaken; but during the second shock it was much more disturbed.

During the Calabrian earthquake numerous fissures were produced, changes of level occurred, and many other changes took place which we have not the space to describe, but for details we refer the reader to the authorities already cited. According to Sir William Hamilton about 40,000 persons perished during the earthquake, and about 20,000 more died by the epidemics which were probably caused by the want of sufficient nourishment and the inhalation of malarious poison which arose from the now stagnant lakes and pools that had been produced.

We have space to do but little more than refer to some of the more recent earthquakes, whose effects on the earth's surface and its inhabitants have been very marked. Previous to the terrific earthquake of 1812, which destroyed the cities of La Guayra and Caraccas, shocks were felt in South Carolina and the valley of the Mississippi, from the village of New Madrid, in Missouri, to the mouth of the Ohio, in one direction, to that of the St. Francis in the other.† The

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\* *Proceedings of the Geological Society*, No. 60, p. 36, 1838.

† For an account of the earthquake of New Madrid in 1811, see the narrative of an eye-witness, in *Smithsonian Report* for 1858, pp. 421-424.

graveyard at New Madrid was precipitated into the bed of the Mississippi river, and the ground on which the town is built, and the river bank for fifteen miles above, sunk eight feet below their former level. The forest near presented a curious appearance, "the trees standing inclined in every direction, and many having their trunks and branches broken." The earth rose in great undulations, and, after reaching a fearful height, the soil burst and great volumes of water, sand, and pit-coal were discharged as high as the tops of the trees. The shocks continued during three successive months, the only instance on record, according to Humboldt, where such a thing has happened far from any volcano.

On the 26th of March, 1812, the city of Caraccas and 10,000 of its inhabitants were destroyed. Humboldt has recorded in his narrative of a journey to the equinoctial regions all that he could collect. It being Holy Thursday, a large part of the inhabitants was collected in the churches. The calamities of the day were not preceded by any warnings, and the destruction of life was in consequence the more complete.

As an illustration of the great force exerted during earthquake shocks, we may mention that in the great earthquake of 1822, in Chili, during which the alterations of level extended to 100,000 square miles of surface, Lyell estimates, calling the average rise three feet, that the amount of rock added to the continent equalled in weight 100,000 times that of the Great Pyramid of Egypt, the weight of the latter being equal to 6,000,000 tons; and if we consider that perhaps two miles instead of three feet of thickness (and it might have been much more) were lifted, the whole force exerted was equal to the weight of 363,000,000 pyramids.\*

The earthquake of August 13-16, 1868, which occurred along the South American Pacific coast, for the extent and violence of it, as well as destructiveness to life and property, has scarcely been equalled by any that has happened since its settlement by Europeans. The whole western coast, from the

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\* *Prin. Geology*, vol. ii., p. 97,

United States of Columbia to Chili, was shaken, and cities and towns in great numbers were suddenly laid in ruins, either by the shocks or by the subsequent influx of the sea, or by both combined. The shocks commenced on the 13th, about 5 o'clock P. M. The centre of disturbance seemed to be in the southern part of Peru. The shocks lasted in different places from two to seven minutes. The city of Arequipa, about forty miles from the coast, contained a population of about fifty thousand. The disturbance was so great there that the city was almost totally destroyed. The churches were solidly built of stone, yet not one was left standing. Arica in Peru, the chief port for the commerce of Bolivia, was both destroyed by the earthquake and obliterated by the sea. Five ships lay at anchor in the bay, and all but one were destroyed with the greater part of their crews. The United States war-steamer *Wateree* was swept a quarter of a mile inland, and left high and dry, with the loss of but one man. It was estimated that from thirty to sixty thousand persons were destroyed. The yellow fever broke out in Arica in November, 1868, and this terrible scourge carried off more than twenty-five hundred, and thus, by its ravages, added vastly to the horrors of the earthquake.\*

Volcanoes and earthquakes are intimately related, but the former, as causes of change in the surface of the earth, are of much less importance in a geological point of view than the latter. The history of the eruptions of Vesuvius, since the re-commencement of its activity, in the year 79 of our era, is perhaps better known than that of any other volcano. By studying its phenomena, geologists may learn, perhaps, the general physical history of all active volcanoes. Volcanoes are very numerous, several hundreds of them being known. According to recent investigations there are four hundred and ten, a large proportion of which are on islands, and nearly all continental volcanoes are situated near the sea coast. This fact is of importance in explaining the cause of eruptions.

The geographical boundaries of the volcanic regions of the

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\* See *Smithsonian Report* for 1870, p. 421-24.

globe are widely extended. If we begin with the southern part of South America, we find volcanoes distributed in greater or less frequency throughout the greater part of the Andean chains. The loftiest known volcanoes exist in this region. The volcanoes of Quito, which occur between the second degree of south and the third degree of north latitude, are very lofty, rising to elevations of fourteen thousand to eighteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. Cotopaxi, the highest of all the South American volcanoes that have been in a state of eruption in modern times, has an altitude of eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight feet. It is a perfect cone, and usually covered with great beds of snow, which, however, have sometimes been melted during an eruption, as happened in January, 1803, when the snows were dissolved in one night. The eruptions of this great volcano have been more frequent and more destructive than those of any other mountain. In 1738, its flames rose nearly three thousand feet above the crater, and in 1744 its roarings were heard as far as Honda, on the Magdalena, a distance of six hundred and ninety miles; and in 1803, Humboldt and Bonpland heard the explosions at the port of Guayaquil, night and day, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, as if they were the distant discharge of a battery.

Great floods are often caused in the Andes by the melting of vast bodies of snow, a result of the internal fire of the mountains; and sometimes earthquakes rend subterranean cavities which are filled with water. During these inundations fine volcanic sand, loose stones, and other materials, are swept along by the water in its descent, and thus an immense amount of mud is formed and carried into the lower regions. Mud thus formed descended in 1797, from the sides of Tunguragua in Quito, and filled valleys a thousand feet wide to the depth of six hundred feet. Rivers were dammed up by it, and lakes were thus formed. Large quantities of small fish are in this way enveloped by the mud, and sometimes they are left in subterranean cavities of water, where, according to Humboldt,\*

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\* *Cosmos*, vol. i. pp. 230-31.

they multiply, "and when the shocks of earthquakes, which precede all eruptions in the Andes, have violently shaken the whole mass of the volcano, these subterranean caverns are suddenly opened, and water, fishes, and tuffaceous mud are all ejected together." The putrid fever, which raged in 1691 in the mountain town of Ibarra, north of Quito, was attributed to the effluvia which arose from the putrid fish which were ejected from the volcano of Imbaburn.

In North America we find volcanoes to exist in the West Indies, in Mexico, in the northwestern part of the United States, and in Alaska Territory. Another chain of volcanos commences in the Aleutian Islands, extends westerly nearly two hundred geographical miles, then southward, with a few interruptions, between sixty and seventy degrees of latitude to the Moluccas. From this point it sends off a branch to the southeast, the principal line extending westerly through Sumbana, Java, to Sumatra, thence in a northwesterly direction to the Bay of Bengal.\* The volcanoes of the East Indian Archipelago are very numerous. Many other volcanoes exist either as parts of systems or as isolated examples. Among the latter, two of the most noted are Vesuvius and Etna.† We have already mentioned that the history of the former is perhaps better known than that of any other.

The volcanic region of the Mediterranean was the only one known to the ancient inhabitants of the countries which border on that sea, and they have left us but very imperfect records of the eruptions of the three principal centres of volcanic activity—Naples, Sicily, and the Grecian Archipelago. From the earliest settlement of Southern Italy down to its eruption in the year 79 of our era, Vesuvius had shown no sign, except by its structure, of being an active volcano. On its summit there was a crater, with steep cliffs, its interior being overgrown with wild vines, with a barren plain at the bottom. The flanks of the mountain, however, on the exterior were covered with fertile fields carefully cultivated, the popu-

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\* Lyell's *Principles*, Vol. i. pp. 587-8.

† These are rather centres of volcanic districts.

lous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii being situated at its base. The account of the eruptions in the year 79, which is so often referred to, we need not here repeat. Suffice it to say that the two cities above named were suddenly overwhelmed, and remained buried beneath many feet of lava, ashes and pumice, for more than sixteen centuries, when, in 1713, Herculaneum was accidentally discovered by the sinking of a well, which, fortunately, came upon the ancient theatre.

Many things have been discovered which throw great light on the ancient manners and customs of those cities. Since only a small number of skeletons have been discovered, we conclude that the greater part of the inhabitants escaped. In relation to the streets, we may remark that in some cases the pavements have sunk down, but in the majority they are undisturbed, consisting of irregular flags of lava neatly joined together, and often the carriage wheels have worn in them ruts an inch and a half deep. "It is impossible," says Lyell, "not to look with some interest even on these ruts, which were worn by chariot-wheels more than seventeen centuries ago, and, independently of their antiquity, it is remarkable to see such deep incisions so continuous in a stone of great hardness."

For completeness, the history of the eruption of Etna ranks next to that of Vesuvius. This mountain is a little more than two miles in height above the level of the sea, and rises in solitary grandeur, the monarch of European volcanoes. Over the whole immense declivity of Etna, and more especially the lower region, one beholds innumerable eminences or small conical hills, which rise from its surface, adorned with towns and villages, hamlets and monasteries.

Of the great eruptions of this volcano, we have space to mention only some of the principal ones. In the year 1669 there was an eruption which destroyed numerous towns and villages, some of them containing a population of 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants, and also a part of the city of Catania. The walls of the city had been purposely raised to protect it and its inhabitants. The flood of burning lava, after reaching the



walls, rose higher and higher, till it reached the top of the walls, a height of sixty feet, and then it poured over, forming a fiery cascade of great sublimity, but carrying destruction into the city, which the walls were to protect, and a part of it was overwhelmed. The wall resisted the pressure of the lava, and it was afterwards discovered by excavations made in the rock by the Prince of Biscari.

In 1819, during the eruption which happened in that year, three large caverns opened, and in a short time afterwards a fourth one was formed below, from which flames and smoke issued, and finally a fifth mouth was opened still lower, from which a torrent of lava flowed, spreading itself rapidly over the Val del Bove. On arriving at the precipices known as the Salte della Giumenta, at the head of the valley of Calanna, the lava fell over in a cascade, making a great crash as it reached the bottom. Nine months after the eruption Mr. Scrope visited this lava current, and found it moving slowly down a considerable slope, at the rate of about a yard an hour. Cracks in the lava revealed a dull red light by night, and during the day visible vapor issued in considerable quantity.\*

Besides the igneous phenomena to which we have now referred, there are hot springs and geysers, whose influence produce changes, though much less considerable than either volcanoes or earthquakes. The geysers of Iceland have often been described, and their phenomena and general appearance are well known.

Quite recently many geysers were discovered on the Yellowstone and the Firehole river, Wyoming Territory. Hot springs in some places are numerous, some of them even boil, but these are no true geysers. The elevation above the level of the sea is such that water boils at a temperature varying from 192° to 196° Fahr. On the Firehole river the Upper Geyser Basin is found, and at this place the great geysers exist. They are found about ten miles up the river. None of the great geysers exist at the Lower Geyser Basin, but, in the early morning, for four or five hours, it presents a most beau-

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\* Scrope on Volcanoes, first edition, p. 102.



tiful appearance—"columns of steam are rising from a thousand vents, completely shrouding the valley as with a dense fog." At the Upper Basin the geyser called "Old Faithful" sends up a column of water every hour, six feet in diameter, to a height of one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet. This region has been set apart by Congress for a National Park.\*

The influence of earthquakes and volcanoes on the surface of the earth we have seen to be very great, when long periods of time are considered; but their immediate effect on man is even greater. So far as man is able to foresee to a certain extent, and prepare for a catastrophe, or counteract its effects somewhat, he is content to live where he is scarcely at any time safe; but when he is absolutely incapable of foreseeing, and in a measure avoiding danger, it seems that nothing but necessity causes him to expose himself and property to it. In the case of volcanoes, those who live in their immediate neighborhood have more or less warning, and they have time to flee from danger in many cases. But with earthquakes it is different. No one living in their vicinity knows whither he can go to place himself beyond the reach of danger; he is as likely to run into it as to run away from it.

Lyell says that why subterranean movements, which in the course of ages prove eminently beneficial, are attended with so much suffering, is beyond our philosophy to determine. In relation to this, we may remark that there is no evidence that this world was made especially for man, as we are sometimes told; but rather man, being the most recently formed of all the animal creation, is adapted, as well as circumstances will permit, to his condition. As for suffering and misfortune, they are powerful incentives to intellectual progress, by stimulating the mind to investigate their causes, and thus to prevent or avoid them as far as possible. Man is certainly more a creature of necessity than many are willing to admit. Calamities and sufferings, in at least nine cases out of ten, are the result of ignorance.

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\* *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. iii., [3], pp. 105-115, 162-176, 294-297.

## NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

## EDUCATION.

1. *Guyot's Elementary Geography for Primary Classes.*
2. *Guyot's Intermediate Geography.*
3. *Guyot's Physical Geography. Advanced Sheets.* New York :  
Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1872.

UPON the first issue of the above series of geographies, we took occasion to point out some of their more glaring defects.\* We again take them up in view of the recent additions to the series, and of the extraordinary efforts put forth, not only to effect their introduction into all our schools, but to secure their recommendation as superior to all others. In referring to this series of text-books, it may be necessary to state briefly their peculiar plan, upon which are based the claims of so great superiority. "Previous to the issue of Guyot's Geographies, scarcely any efforts had been made to exhibit in a series of text-books the connection between the *Geography of Nature* and that of *Man*," the italics being the writer's. This writer, we are informed by the author, is a lady of remarkable success in teaching geography, whose assistance in the preparation of these books he was "very providentially" enabled to secure. We may hence infer that in this series we are "providentially," to have the "geography of man," whatever that may be. The obvious derivation of the term *geography* from *γῆ*, the earth, and *γραφη*, a description, renders this language still more enigmatical ; but we pass on to notice another "characteristic of these geographies as distinguished from other series." "They recognize the element of successive *causation* connecting the different geographical topics, and make it the basis of the order in which those topics are treated." That is, the physical features of the earth and the distribution of races upon its surface, the relation of the climate, soil, etc., to the productions and degree of civilization, and the mutual influence of those complex causes are the link which is to bind together the disjointed

topics of these text-books in the minds of young pupils; thus calling for the exercise of the faculties, analysis and deduction, which can only be developed in the most advanced stages of education. This is the actual course pursued, in contrast with that laid down in the teacher's "Manual," in which sixty pages are employed to explain to and instruct the teachers how to use these geographies! There the order is given, as, first, to employ the powers of observation; second, of retention, and third, of imagination (p. 7). That this is *not* the order adopted is seen in a glance at the "Elementary," where at the same time the attempt is made to show this philosophical connection, and in language certainly better adapted to the nursery than to the school-room.

Thus, under the head of occupations, which are introduced at once on this theory of "successive causation," the pupil is informed (p. 15) that "catching fish from the water is called fishing." In answer to the question "How do people on the banks of rivers spend their time?" we read "the people in these places are most of them very busy *with* mills and factories, making *all kinds of things*." (!) In the "Intermediate," where more precision of language might be expected, among the first definitions we meet, is the following. "By the climate of a country is meant heat or cold, moisture or dryness, *healthfulness* or *unhealthfulness*," on which it is unnecessary to comment.

In regard to the "native people" of South America we read (p. 23) "Negroes are numerous *among the white inhabitants*," and on the next page, "Cayenne pepper is a native of Guiana," whether classed among the white inhabitants or negroes we are not informed!

These extracts will be sufficient to illustrate the language employed to teach clearly this theory of "successive causation" or "natural order" by which the pupil is to obtain an "intelligent knowledge" of the subject. Indeed this attempt to teach the philosophy of geography in this infantile style of language would be simply ludicrous, were it not for the fact that these books are in the hands of hundreds of children. We read on one page, the author's preface, in which he enlarges upon this principle of causative connection between the earth's surface and man's history as the only true method of studying geography, and on the next page, that of the "remarkably successful teacher," announcing that "minuteness of observation is the distinctive method of this book." (!) By this assistance the author congratulates himself that "the difficulty in presenting the subject in language appropriate for children is provisionally obviated;" but the poor children, we apprehend, will not have

much cause for thankfulness in the success of this attempt at the amalgamation of these opposite systems of instruction. In this teacher's "suggestions to teachers" she says: "We begin by directing attention to that which is under the eye of the pupil; we show him how to *interrogate* the region of country in the midst of which he lives." The first thing that the pupil finds to "interrogate" is a picture, which at once readily recalls that of Hogarth representing "false perspective."

The author seems to have suspected this, for in the annexed lesson the pupil is informed that "*horses* are drawing a *wagon* over the *ground*," and that "*ships* and boats are sailing on the *water*," which in this case seems to be needed information, as to all appearances the horses are walking *into* the water, and the ships sailing *over* the houses! After the pupil has sufficiently exercised his "powers of observation" upon the view he is told that it is "a picture of the land and water." This false perspective is even more noticeable in a view called "New York wharves, foot of Canal street," where land, water, and sky, houses, boats, and men, are all in indescribable confusion. Indeed all the cuts are extremely rude, and in their style and execution carry us back to the primitive days of the typographic art. Nor can much better be said of the maps, especially of that of the world on Mercator's projection, which greatly enlarges the comparative size of the polar regions; but that is regarded as of "little consequence." Upon this map we notice what at first appears to be a shower of blots, but which we learn are intended to represent islands. By the time the pupil has been able to discriminate the islands from the blots, we have no doubt that his faculties of observation will be sufficiently exercised!

The coloring of the maps is intended to represent the relative heights above the sea level, but, as the standard is not uniform, it fails entirely to give any idea of the *actual* elevations. The claim that the coloring in any manner *pictures* to the mind the respective elevations is entirely without foundation, while we are convinced that to the young pupil it is only an embarrassment, and to the older student very inadequate for the purpose.

The "constructive system of map drawing" is claimed as the chief and crowning excellence of this series. We should like to transcribe for our readers the directions for drawing the map of South America, which, as it is considered the simplest, is given first. Quite a complete set of drafting instruments, as well as a knowledge of some of the problems of geometry, are necessary in order to carry out

these instructions. "Thus the pupil is to lay off the line  $m$  as a basis of measurement, to make B very nearly two  $m$ , C one and one-half  $m$ ; a little (not quite one-fifth  $m$ ) above its end we find," etc. When we reflect that this map is the least complex, that the others employ all the known and unknown geometrical figures, that the standard of measurement is different for each map, and that the directions in each case are arbitrary, without system or connection with each other, it is easy to judge of the merits of this plan as adapted to the capacities of young pupils, or compared with either the triangular or rectangular system.

The last merit we shall notice that is claimed for these books is, that they give great exercise to the imagination. This claim we are disposed to allow; for certainly most of the facts which one might expect to find in a work of this kind, intended for young pupils who acquire nearly all their geographical knowledge in a short period at school, are left entirely to be imagined. Among these important omissions are the counties and corresponding divisions of states and countries, an account of the government, religion, degree of civilization, population, and political power of the several countries of which no hint is given except in a few pages of the *Teacher's edition*. As an example of the manner in which the giving of the most natural information seems to be studiously avoided, and of the general looseness of expression, we give one more extract of the kind, in which the work abounds: "Brooklyn, on Long Island, is next to New York in size," but nothing is said as to whether it is one mile or a hundred from that city. "Philadelphia is situated on Delaware river not far from Delaware Bay. This is a great manufacturing city" (p. 34).

With these extracts we leave the reader to judge whether the exertions put forth to secure the endorsement of these books and their introduction into all our schools is justified by their merits. We take no pleasure in alluding to these facts, but since our attention has been so frequently called to them, it becomes our duty to do so. The giving away of text-books to teachers and others interested in making changes, may be merely an evidence of the remarkable generosity of the publishers, but it smacks rather too strongly of undue influence in introducing books which are unable to introduce themselves. If these educators are thus favored, what shall we say of those to whom copies, not only of these text-books, but of other and more valuable works, are presented in order to secure their recommendation? But, under the law of compensations, they too experience the disadvantages of being prominent men, if constant

importunity in public and in private, lengthy interviews, and even the dogging of their steps in order to secure the endorsement which they cannot conscientiously give, may be considered a drawback to their position. Certain publishers, like the Greeks, are to be suspected most when conferring gifts. Not that we would imply that it is culpable in a business point of view for a man to invite examination and praise of his wares if they deserve it; but making undue, not to say improper efforts, to secure recommendation, is of itself *prima facie* evidence of a lack of genuine excellence in the article thus sought to be puffed. When publishers of text-books designed for the instruction of our children employ all the arts of quack-medicine vendors, in order to promote the sale of their works, criticism is plainly called for. But when the educational wares thus sought to be praised and puffed are in reality much inferior to those already in the market, it becomes a duty to discriminate, and point out the defects of the one as well as the excellences of the other.

This we owe not only to the cause of education, but to prominent educators who have been "interviewed" by enterprising publishers to such a degree that we have frequently been requested to expose their annoying proceedings. As an illustration of this annoyance to which our influential men are daily subject, we will refer to a case fully known to ourselves. A well-known educator who has control over several literary institutions, having frequently declined with thanks the generous offers of certain publishers to substitute their books for others much superior, they at length bring up their great gun and demand an "unconditional surrender." This was a no less personage than a high functionary of our Board of Education, and being of the same religious belief as the gentleman who was the object of attack, this combination was deemed irresistible. Yet, strange as it may appear, the assailed party was able to resist this combined assault, and even to intimate to the above-mentioned functionary that perhaps the Board of Education had as much claim upon his services as the liberal publishers in whose interests he was so active. Acting on this hint, they retired in good order, but have not since been heard from in that quarter.

Here, for the present, we will take leave of the subject, only referring to the physical geography to say that in it the amalgamation attempt is abandoned, and to that extent, at least, it is a better text-book than the others of the series. When we have an opportunity to examine it entire we will take pleasure in commending it if it seems to us to deserve it; for we certainly do not infer because certain publications of a house are open to criticism that all partake of that character.

*Zell's Descriptive Hand-Atlas of the World.* By J. BARTHOLOMEW, Geographer. 4to. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. 1871-73.

WHEN the publication of the present work was begun, the publishers announced "an Atlas on a new plan." The need of such a work has long been evident to those who have noticed the rapid extension of our intercourse with distant portions of the globe, as seen in our new relations with China and Japan, and the frequency with which we meet the Mongolian type of features upon our streets. "*Scientia est Potentia*" is the motto of the publishers; Knowledge is Power—not possessed by an exclusive guild over the unenlightened multitude, but diffused, scattered broadcast, and placed within the reach of every man. To aid in rendering the knowledge of our globe more available, and hence more valuable, is the object of this new Atlas. An acquaintance with geography is no longer an accomplishment; it is a necessity, felt each day more and more by every man who transacts business or even reads a newspaper.

There are, it is true, excellent geographies in use, such, for example, as Mitchell's, especially adapted to the use of the pupil; nor would we be understood as saying one word derogatory to its merits. That now under consideration is eminently the business man's Atlas, yet it does not fail to meet the requirements of the student. For the information of the latter are given the direction and course of each of the oceanic currents, with a description of their causes and effects, isothermal lines, limits of ice and of human habitation, and the distribution of races and religions, with accompanying statistics. For the former are given the air-line distance of the capital of each country from New York, the ocean steamer and sailing-vessel routes, distinctly traced to and from the chief American and British ports, with the distance and time in days, the limits of commercial intercourse, and all the principal telegraph lines laid and projected by land and sea, with the distances.

This will indicate the comprehensive character of the work, yet it is designed for popular use and brought within the reach of all. It is published in twenty-five parts, containing thirty-five maps, one being issued each month, and of which twenty-two numbers are now before us. The maps are models of good coloring and clear printing. This may be seen by reference to the map of England and Wales, for instance, upon which are upwards of two thousand names of towns, rivers, mountains, etc.; yet there is no confusion or indistinctness.

The approximate population of each city and town is seen by the size and kind of type employed, thus dispensing in many cases with reference to the tables, in which are given, in addition to the population, the county or district in which the village or city is situated, and an alphabetical index for reference to the map. \* The value of this index will be appreciated by every man of business habits, as soon as he perceives the vast saving of time otherwise lost in searching the map. This is effected by the lettering upon the top and side of each map, and the squares formed by the meridians and parallels of latitude. By reference to the proper square the desired place is found at once. This we have ourselves had occasion to prove, and can testify to the advantage of the plan over those we had previously seen.

The map of the world in No. 1 is on Sir J. Herschel's projection, thus repeating parts of Asia and North America, and the whole of the Pacific Ocean. By this means ocean routes, currents, etc., may be traced in their full extent without losing the connection. The longitude upon all the maps is reckoned from the same meridian, that of Greenwich, thus securing uniformity in the estimate of distances and the relative positions of countries and cities. The parallels of latitude are also mentioned which correspond in one hemisphere to those in another. Thus, of the New England States we read that they correspond in latitude in the eastern hemisphere to France, the north of Spain and Italy, and to the Isle of Yesso, in Japan. The difference in climate of these places has often been noticed. Thus, also, we know that London is a little north of parallel  $57^{\circ}$  north latitude, which corresponds upon this continent to the frozen regions of Labrador. These great climatic differences are now known to be due chiefly to those vast oceanic and aerial currents whose silent flow produces such grand results.

The map of England and its scale, 29 miles to the inch, are taken as the standard of comparison with all the other maps, thus conveying a correct idea not only of the absolute but the relative extent of each country or continent. The maps are all of the same size, so that by a simple reference to the scale of miles it is easy to compute, in a moment, the comparative areas of any two countries. This is decidedly a distinguishing excellence of the new Atlas. As an instance of this comparative method of statement we quote that in reference to South America :

\* The area, of which about three-fourths are within the tropics, is estimated at above 7,000,000 square miles, equal to one and eight-tenths of Europe, one-fifth less



than North America, and to more than one-seventh of the entire land surface of the globe. Population about 27,086,000, showing an average density of less than four persons per square mile; it is thus the most thinly peopled of the continents. The scale of the map is 298 miles to an inch, one square inch comprising 105 times the area represented by one square inch of map of England."

The comparative densities of population furnish material for interesting study and important deductions. Thus we see them ranging from about 100 per square mile in Scotland, 344 in England, 425 in Belgium, to 854 in the province of Kiang-su, China, and down to 4 in South America. These facts point, like the finger of Destiny, to the fertile soil and virgin forests of South America as the reserved retreat for earth's teeming peoples, and as the future seat of a mighty empire, where now rolls the Amazon, "and hears no sound save his own dashings." While referring to this subject we note an oversight of the editor's, or perhaps of the printer's, by which it is affirmed that only one State in the Union, viz., Rhode Island, has a greater density of population than Scotland. The density of population in Rhode Island is given as 166.4 per square mile, while Massachusetts has 186.8, thus giving the precedence in this respect to the Bay State.

The amount of valuable information condensed in the accompanying text is certainly noteworthy, and can be fully appreciated only by long and daily use of the Atlas. It is of almost every variety which can be useful to the numerous classes of men. In addition to the facts of physical geography, such as length of rivers, heights of mountains and other elevations of land, isothermals, surface, climate, etc., there are included the direction and length of ocean and telegraph lines, and other routes of communication, the percentage of increase or decrease of population of States since 1860, the number of counties, of representatives in Congress, and in the two houses of the State legislature, etc. We also notice the names of countries given in different languages, as Germany, *Deutschland*, *Allemagne*, *Germania*; also the ancient and modern names, as in Palestine, the city Rabba, ancient *Areopolis*. This, taken in connection with the locations of ruins of cities, ancient territories, tribes, etc., enables the biblical student to find all he seeks upon the map of Palestine, while that of Italy and Greece answers every purpose of a classical atlas. Further needful information is thrown into a brief note in respect to the signification of foreign terms. Thus we notice in the Arabic, *Ard*, plain; *Jebel*, mountain; and in the Chinese, *Ho* and *Kiang*, river, etc. We are aware that the publishers have been at much expense in the preparation of this work, and have intended to

make it preëminent in its class, and in this they have clearly succeeded. We have not, however, called attention to all its excellences, many of them new, others not; but we are of opinion that in no other work of the kind can be found so many combined; which, with its facility of reference and accuracy of statement, will render it of great utility and value to all classes of people.

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*Oxford's Junior Speaker: a Collection of Exercises, Recitations and Representations. Adapted to the Young of Both Sexes.* By William Oxford. 12mo, pp. 216. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co., 1872.

AMONG all the excellent educational works which have issued from the press of the publishers of this volume, we know of none better adapted to its sphere than this juvenile speaker. In no direction has more improvement been made of late than in works for the young. Nor was there greater need of it in any class of text-books. The period is past in which hasty abbreviations of standard speeches on the one hand, or nursery rhymes on the other, are considered all sufficient to instruct the youthful generation in the art of oratory. Works of this class, in order to meet the necessities of the hour, must not only contain abundant selections suitable for early elocutionary drill, but they must also be adapted to the tastes of youth, and at the same time be of a character which will leave no impression upon the youthful mind which later years might wish to erase.

The neat volume before us goes far toward fulfilling these requirements. This is especially noticeable in the selections which constitute the elocutionary exercises. These are classified into "political and martial speeches in prose," "dialogues and concerted pieces in prose and verse," "serious pieces in verse," and "light and humorous pieces in verse," comprising in all nearly two hundred articles. Their brevity and the skill with which a long story is condensed into few words renders them peculiarly adapted to the use of young learners, and for public school entertainments. While there are many brief, stirring and instructive selections from the great orators, few of them are of that stereotyped class which we find in nearly every work of the kind. Indeed, it is remarkable that

compilers of these works have so long confined themselves to those familiar selections, when it is well known that the writings of the great speakers abound in material equally eloquent and suitable for the purpose. The compiler of this work has drawn largely from these original sources, as well as from others not so famous, yet generally well suited for a work of this kind. This adaptation is shown in the subjects of the dialogues, consisting largely in the portrayal of scenes, feelings and incidents peculiar to the school-room and playground.

These exercises in representation are, many of them, dramatized from narratives in a very skilful manner, which brings out the point and illustrates the moral to a degree proportionate to the advantage which the dramatic possesses over the narrative form in this respect. Thus the old story of young Franklin and the axe-grinder is arranged in dramatic form, which vividly conveys the lesson taught by the old cynic to the young philosopher. We will remark, in passing, that it is also eminently suggestive of the course of many compilers of juvenile books, who thus seek to give point to their dull literary axes. These dialogues are also mostly so arranged as to be adapted to representation by both sexes, thus supplying a need long felt by many teachers.

While the spirit and terseness of these selections are such as to excite the interest of the pupil, the language employed is a happy mean between stilted verbosity on the one hand and ungrammatical simplicity on the other. Many of the selections possess a kind of humor peculiarly amusing to the young, yet, almost without exception, are of a moral tone and character, to which no parent could object and at the same time generally convey a useful lesson. The rules for elocutionary practice are brief, practical, and well suited to the capacity of the pupils, while throughout the work words to be emphasized are marked in italics, and those of difficult pronunciation divided and accented. The illustrations are mostly explanatory in design, neat in execution, and ornamental in appearance. Although there are a few selections perhaps too infantile for a "Junior Speaker," and others which might be omitted without loss, on the whole it is one which we most cheerfully commend to parents and teachers.

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*Reviews and Essays on Art, Literature, and Science.* By ALMIRA LINCOLN PHELPS, author of "Lincoln's Botanies," "Phelps' Chemistries and Natural Philosophies," etc. 12mo, pp. 321. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger. 1873.

LOOKING back upon a long life spent in educational and literary labor, the author of the present volume has collected such of its results as seem to possess the most permanent and general value, and presented them to the public as, perhaps, the last production of her pen. Like her sister, Mrs. Willard, the founder of a very respectable literary institution, and author of various standard text-books, essays, etc., and connected with the chief literary, social, and scientific movements of her times, her writings cannot fail to interest her contemporaries and to prove valuable to the younger generation.

Such we find to be the contents of the present volume. It is our purpose at this time merely to indicate their general scope and character. First we have a "Glance at the Fine Arts," in which the author, commenting upon the causes of the neglect and lack of appreciation of the fine arts in America, proceeds to give a brief history of arts and artists of the several schools, pointing out the leading spirits and distinguishing characteristics of each. These she seizes upon with the intuition of one capable of appreciating the true end and aim of art. Although not wanting in a high estimation of the value of art, *per se*, the author regards it in an ethical point of view, in its influence upon or as an expression of the moral character of a people.

In "England under the Stuarts," we have a graphic condensation of the history of the mother-country in that thrilling and eventful period. Based upon the conflicting views of Hume and Hallam, her unbiased judgment strikes the happy mean, and her analytical mind presents in few words the salient points of events and character, while womanly sympathy is evinced towards the unhappy Mary and the ill-fated Charles, and in condemnation of cruelty and injustice everywhere. In "Social Life in America," she points out the truth as well as error in the strictures of Dickens, Miss Martineau, and other writers upon our society, evincing a knowledge of the weakness and wants of American character as well as its strength and stability.

In "Madame de Maintenon and her Times," we see a vivid and in

general truthful picture of French character and customs in the luxurious court of Louis XIV.; and the much-slandered Maintenon evidently receives ample justice. "The De Saussures and their Writings" is an interesting and appreciative essay upon that eminent family. That upon the "Life and Writings of Goethe," while giving an appreciative estimate of the works of the great poet, shows that the writer's sense of rectitude is not blinded to the moral imperfections of the man. A very just comparison is drawn between a portion of "Faust" and its prototype the "Book of Job," showing how far the modern falls below the ancient poet in his conception of the character of Deity. The essay upon the character and writings of Mrs. Sigourney is a well-deserved tribute to that excellent lady, and deems her poem of Pocahontas alone sufficient to yield her enduring fame. The chapters upon "Popular Botany" and "Popular Science" embody the author's views upon these subjects, to which she has given forty years of her life as an investigator and instructor.

"The Union of Religion and Science," as exemplified in the life and writings of the late Dr. Edward Hitchcock, is an essay read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Buffalo, in 1866. The paper upon "Circulation by Respiration" is a history of this theory, and defence of Mrs. Willard, as its originator. It is an impartial account of the difficulties and discouragements experienced by that talented lady in her efforts to obtain recognition in scientific circles, not for herself, but for the theory. Its gradual advance and final triumph are illustrated in the following interesting narration :

"Dr. Ely was one who had opposed and written against the theory. In the meantime, his infant son had cholera and expired. His medical friends had left him, and crape was tied to the front door. Standing by the side of his lifeless babe, Dr. Ely said to himself, 'If this theory should be true, I might yet save my child,' and, profiting by the example of Dr. Cortwright in restoring the dead alligator, he restored his son to life. Remitting his efforts too soon, again the infant ceased to breathe. And again, and yet the third time the father restored him, when the resuscitation proved complete, and months afterwards the child was living and in perfect health. Dr. Ely then came promptly forward, and, like a noble, honest man, reported the case as convincing evidence of a truth which he had formerly opposed."

The article is an able argument in favor of the claim of an American lady to be ranked as a discoverer in physiology, and, as a tribute to her memory, fitly completes the volume. These reviews, while not claiming to be profoundly critical, yet convey, in a condensed and lucid

style, much information, and generally correct impressions of the subjects treated. The *tout ensemble* forms a very readable collection of essays upon important subjects, and, to the author's wide circle of friends and pupils, a valuable "sheaf of gleanings from the harvests" of a remarkably useful life.

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1. *On the Mountain; or, Lost and Found.* By LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY. 16mo, pp. 228.
  2. *How the Kingdom Came to Little Joy.* 16mo, pp. 196. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

IN view of the great number of third-rate sensational novels which at the present day are to be found in our Sunday-school libraries, it affords us sincere pleasure to call attention to books that are unexceptionable in character, as well as interesting and instructive in matter. It is a deplorable fact that in collections designed for the young, and especially in those nominally intended for religious instruction, works of pure moral sentiment are the exception. We are aware that this tendency towards sensational reading is a reaction from the dull, unnatural, morbidly pious class of books which have so largely predominated in these libraries. To strike the happy mean, to give the story sufficient reality and interest to render it attractive enough to compete with the dime novel class of books and at the same time convey useful and salutary moral instruction, is no easy task.

These requirements are, however, well met in the books before us, and the Sunday-school Union is doing a good work in providing this class of reading-matter for those who need it. These handsome volumes are designed to teach the necessary lessons of self-sacrifice and faith: which is done through the medium of simple narratives natural in their events, truthful in description, and interesting to the young reader.

The management of the conversation seems to be the most difficult part of the task to both the writers. The grammatical precision and appropriateness of language are a little too remarkable in these untaught children, and the words of wisdom which fall from their lips

would imply at least unusual precocity in the youthful subjects. This is more noticeable in the narrative "On the Mountain," though the course of events and feelings manifested are in general very natural.

The principal character is a spoiled child, Fanny, who falls into the hands of a kind, yet wise and firm grandmother, by whose discipline and her own misfortunes she is at length taught the great lesson of self-control and self-sacrifice. The "new-fashioned theories" of family government are hit off in the person of Mrs. Lilly, Fanny's mother. The author thus refers to them :

"Mrs. Lilly, the younger, had some new-fashioned theories on the bringing-up of children. She thought they should never be punished, for fear of making them slaves; nor restrained from saying all they pleased, lest they should become sly; nor checked in eating, drinking, or play, for fear they should think too much of these things; nor taught anything they did not wish to learn, lest their brains should be overtaxed or they should take a dislike to learning."

These theories, we fear, are entertained by more than one parent and with similar results. The other characters in the story are Sarah Weyman, an untaught country girl, whose strength of character and rough sincerity are in strong contrast to Fanny's arts and duplicity; Willy, an honest farmer's boy; an Indian servant, Oney; Steeprock, an old Indian hunter, who, with his dog, succeeds in finding little Annie, who was lost upon the mountain through Fanny's negligence and falsehood, and rescued alive through the heroic self-sacrifice of Sarah Leyman. Sarah becomes an invalid in consequence of her exposure, but finally recovers and finds "her sphere" as a nurse. Fanny reforms, and all ends well.

Little Joy, the heroine of the other narrative, a lame, untaught, simple child, having heard the story of the Pilgrim's Progress, sets off in search of the "Zion-land," becomes mired in a meadow not far from her home, is rescued by a farmer's boy whom she styles Mr. Hope, cared for by a kind old lady, and taught that the "kingdom of Heaven is within." She returns home and induces her older brother, Darry, to seek the same, who, shortly after, reaches the kingdom through the watery gates of death by drowning, and little Joy goes to the poor-house. On a visit to her brother's grave, to see if the angels had taken him away, she meets a bereaved man, Mr. Gordon, who gives her further instructions on the subject, and invites her to a Thanksgiving dinner with her little blind friend, Joey, where they spend a happy afternoon, and return to the workhouse and the realities of

life. The story borders upon the solemn, and has a tinge of the unreal, yet is generally conducted so as to be interesting and to illustrate the lesson of child-like faith. We can only add that it is greatly to be desired that all Sunday-school books should be as unexceptionable as these, and as well adapted to the tastes and needs of youth.

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*Autology: a System of Mental Science. A Vindication of the Manhood of Man, the Godhead of God, and the Divine Authorship of Nature.* By Rev. D. H. HAMILTON, D.D. 8vo, 700 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1873.

THE title of this work will doubtless be new to most of our readers, as the author has coined a word to express an idea peculiarly his own. By this term we are to understand a treatise on man, on self-knowing. Making man the starting-point of inquiry, the author proceeds to discuss directly the nature of God, and indirectly that of the external world, and of brutes and angels. It will thus be seen that the scope of the work is certainly comprehensive, for it includes the consideration of both material and spiritual worlds. It cannot be without interest, for it offers an explanation of all the controverted metaphysical and theological questions which have ever arisen. From the vast regions of what has been considered unknowable, he has rescued many a wandering truth, and assigned it a place among those generally accepted. With the earnest conviction of a sincere believer in his own theory, wrought out in his vigorous mind by years of profound study, the author assumes to lay many of these debated points forever at rest, and over them write *requiescat in pace*.

The object of the work is, as he informs us, not to write a book, but to decide the question, "God or no God; theism or atheism." This battle is to be fought out "not over a reptile or a force, not over a cell or a protoplasm, but over man." *γνώσι θεαυτῶν* is emphatically his text. The aim of the work is not merely to advance some new idea upon metaphysical science, but to construct and explain an entirely new and original system. If adopted, it will be in many respects a revolution in this department of inquiry, and establish beyond doubt certain theories now agitated by theologians and scientists. The entire system is cohesive and consistent with itself; so is the terminology



employed. Although many of the words are used by the author in a new sense, we have no cause for objection, when they are employed in the same sense throughout, which is the case. He claims for himself this privilege, as one who forges new thoughts must be allowed to construct his own vehicle in which to convey them. The whole construction of the system proceeds logically from the foundation, and unless we can destroy this we must accept the edifice entire. As this foundation is laid in the consciousness of man, and as its testimony is conclusive to every one, each can judge for himself of the reality of the superstructure built thereon.

The order of inquiry adopted is man, God, nature—a reversion of that previously pursued by all the philosophers, metaphysical and physical, from Aristotle to Agassiz; for the existence of a God from that of nature, or, as it is commonly called, the argument from design, is in this system cast aside as entirely futile. "Through nature up to nature's God" the author claims can never conduct man to his Creator. He says, "Nature is the lone Isis, who ever still, as of old, inscribes on her own eternal mechanism as descriptive of herself, her history and her doom: 'I am all that has been, I am all that shall be, and none among mortals has ever been able to lift my veil.'"

The theory is propounded that man can know God *directly*, or by a direct induction from his self-knowledge, and thus is avoided the circle of arguments and misconceptions which have so long attended the subject. Where man can know himself and God, the position of nature and her relation to both is easily comprehended. In this work the mind is divided into essential intelligence and essential activity, which are regarded as existing simultaneously in its constitution. Thus the old question of the origin of ideas is avoided, or rather it does not arise. Then are considered in order the will, affections, intellect, and conscience, all forming together the personality or "manhood" of man. In reply to the first point of inquiry, "How can the mind begin to act?" the author endeavors to show that as its source of action cannot be in the senses or in the reason, "the true source of the mind's activity is in its own essence." A similar answer is given to the question, "How can the mind begin to know?" "All knowing of external things consists in the interpreting of a fact by an idea." (p. 21.) This theory is thus expanded:

"If I start with the fact and seek the idea, I have already had and used the idea in finding the fact. If I start with the idea and seek the fact, I find I have already had and used the fact in obtaining the idea. . . . There must first exist

both a fact and an idea before any external thing can be known. . . . It is manifest, therefore, that neither the senses alone nor the reason alone can ever begin to know anything. . . . A higher and more ultimate faculty than either is necessary. . . . Such a faculty we have in a rightly understood consciousness. . . . Essential intelligence or consciousness, and essential activity or life, are the true sources of the mind's knowing and acting." (pp. 23, 25.)

We have thus indicated the line of argument pursued in relation to the first points of inquiry, that it may be seen upon what basis the system rests. In the following words we have the whole scope and plan of this "Autology": "Man is to himself the first great object of knowledge, and this knowledge of himself is to him the key to all knowledge of God and nature." The work is devoted to the substantiating of this thesis, and its application to the problems to which it gives rise. Thus on "Will and Liberty" we note that Dr. Hamilton makes Will and Self identical; that all the faculties of the mind constituting personality inhere in the will; that its action binds over the whole man to responsibility, "though the reason may object and the conscience protest," and that liberty is a constituent element of the will. On the question "Why does the will choose one thing rather than another?" he remarks that it could arise only from confounding choosing with selecting, and then adds, "To choose a thing because it presents the strongest motive would in no way affect the liberty of the will, for it does not depend on that. The act of the will is free, whether it has an alternative object of choice or not." Then, having laid at rest what he calls this "perturbed spirit which bewilders with its *ignis fatuus* light," he writes: "Let it never be let loose again to vex the brain of theologians or metaphysicians, feeble or strong." The question, "Can any power control the will inevitably without destroying its liberty?" he answers in the affirmative by the illustration of a jury trial, with the law, right, argument, etc., all on one side, and that thus God can inevitably persuade any soul to repentance if he chooses. The query which comes hard after this explanation, "Why then does God not choose to do so?" the author does not seem to have deemed worthy of consideration.

On the subject of "total depravity," the philosopher takes the orthodox view as to its generality, if not totality. This view, we are obliged to confess, finds sanction in the light of recent developments in our public affairs. Yet we are not among those who, for one misstep, are ready to condemn a man's whole character, or to conclude thence that he must be "totally depraved."

The author's division of objects will not, we think, meet with

general acceptance. "All being in the universe," says Dr. Hamilton, "is made up of spirit, life, and force. Human nature has in it all three; brutes have life and force, while inanimate nature has only force." (p. 323.) This division, to be scientific, requires a definition of its terms, particularly of life, which we do not find that he has anywhere given. The whole subject of brute life appears to us to be disposed of somewhat summarily, considering our limited actual knowledge of it. As long as the author confines himself to man we can test every step by our own consciousness, but when we advance to the consideration of the lower orders of animals, our knowledge at best is only inference.

We have space only to indicate a few of the questions treated in this able work. The subjects of time and space are discussed in a manner similar to that of Kant, yet the author regards them as creations rather than necessary conceptions, and insists strongly upon the distinction between space and nothingness. He says, "Created space and time are simply the containers of created objects and events, and live and die with them." (p. 391.) Here again he differs from a large class of philosophers, including Locke and his critic Cousin, in placing this limitation upon the existence of these objects, or, as the Kantian school call them, ideas.

Various other theories of recent as well as ancient interest are freely and fearlessly discussed; such as "The standard of truth," "the limits of knowledge," "miracles," "predestination," "special Providence," and "efficacy of prayer." Thus he does not hesitate to discuss questions as old as those which Milton informs us were topics of conversation among the fallen spirits in Tartarus, nor those as recent as the visit of Prof. Tyndall. The plan of the work also includes a critical review of all the philosophers from Thales to Herbert Spencer, but it having already expanded beyond the prescribed limits, we are promised this in another volume.

The arrangement and classification of the materials are eminently analytical, perhaps too much so for the use of the student, while the business man, for whom also the work is intended, will, we fear, find little leisure for perusal of its 700 pages. But the thinker and all given to research in the vast field of metaphysical speculation, will find in it much to repay their investigation, and lead to deeper and in many instances more accurate comprehension of the great truths which underlie our earthly existence.

*The Birds of New England and Adjacent States : with Illustrations of many Species of the Birds and accurate Figures of their Eggs.* By EDWARD A. SAMUELS, Curator of Zoology in the Massachusetts State Cabinet. 8vo, pp. 590. Boston : Noyes, Holmes & Co. 1872.

IN the broad field of nature there is no province of investigation of more interest to man than that of zoology, and of this, doubtless the most agreeable department is that of ornithology. Nothing is better calculated to withdraw the mind from the vexations of business, the disappointments of ambition, and the cares of life than intercourse with nature. Not only is the tendency of this converse seen in its refining influence upon the character of those who seek it, raising them out of the grooves of daily occupation into the broad plain of philosophy and charity, but it has been the recreation and delight of great minds in all ages. This is true not only of those distinguished in physical research, but equally of those most eminent in philosophy and literature.

At the present day, even in the engrossing occupations of American life, we know of scarcely a name of one distinguished in literature or art who is not also a lover of natural history. Yet we could wish that the study of ornithology were more general. Especially would we recommend the present volume to the attention of pupils of both sexes, but particularly to ladies. We are convinced that much of the time now frittered away in the unedifying occupations of many of our literary institutions might be more profitably as well as pleasantly employed in this study, and that many ladies in society would find it a very agreeable relief from the pursuit of fashion and the routine of pleasures.

Although the highest amount of pleasure as well as instruction is to be found in the fields and forests in the company of the feathered tribes, yet a work upon the subject, not too extensive for popular use, yet accurate in its classifications and descriptions, is of much assistance. Such we find to be the work of Mr. Matthews on the Birds of New England. While this comprises but a limited portion of the country, numerous species and varieties of birds are found there, including many of rare beauty of plumage and power of song, as the humming-bird and the mocking-bird.

The classification adopted, partly from Keyserling and Blasius, proceeds mainly upon the arrangements of the toes and mandibles as adapted to seizing prey, wading, swimming, etc. Thus one basis of classification is the hind-toe on the same level as the rest, including the birds of prey, such as the eagle, hawk, and owl, which also have the upper mandible compressed, its point curving down over that of the lower, forming a strong, sharp hook. Upon the same basis another class is formed of those which have the hind-toe raised above the level of the rest, including the waders and swimmers.

First, we have a synopsis of the characteristics of the several orders; then, as they occur, a description of the suborders and families, with both the Latin and common names. In more prominent type are given a history of their habits, times of arrival and departure, their distribution, food, song time of breeding, and a careful and accurate description of their nests and eggs. Upon the latter evidently much care has been bestowed both in giving accurate measurements and figures. Of the illustrations in general we can only say that, although sufficiently numerous, they are by no means in the highest style of the art, nor superior in execution, still not such as to be a blemish in the work. They are mainly copies from other works of the kind, but this is entirely consistent with the plan of the author, which is not so much to convey new information as to collect what is known of the feathered visitors of these latitudes, and to present it in a popularly attractive and instructive form. On the whole, this is well carried out, so that those even who possess considerable information upon the subject will find much pleasure in the perusal of the work.

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## APPENDIX—INSURANCE, GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

1. *Annual Statements of numerous Life Insurance Companies, New York, Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, etc., 1873.*
2. *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Directors of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company to the Members. Boston, January, 1873.*
3. *The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company. Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the President to the Board of Directors, January, 1873.*

WE have now before us quite an extensive pile of documents. In this are represented all kinds of Insurance from the very best to the very worst. The bad still largely predominate in point of numbers, although gradually yielding to the law of gravitation. It was a favorite simile with Addison, that all false pretences, like flowers, soon fail to the ground; and never was that simile more forcibly illustrated than it has been within the last two years by insurance companies. This we will show as we proceed. But we may remark in the meantime that no catastrophes have occurred which might not have been expected. Not one company has either given up the ghost altogether, or fallen into hopeless consumption whose prognosis we had not given in these pages during the first stage of its malady—long before its symptoms had become alarming to those who had most to lose by its demise. Far, then, from wondering that so many companies have either passed out of existence altogether, or, on the Hindoo principle of the metempsychosis, passed into other kindred or congenial bodies, we are rather surprised that so many of the same class still linger. This, however, does not, we trust, compromise our skill as a therapist, since there are few who are not aware of the astonishing tenacity of life manifested by some consumptives after their case has again and again been declared hopeless. Nay, is it not true that there are many instances in which, not only have all the alarming symptoms subsided or disappeared altogether, but the patients have increased instead of diminishing in weight, and yet the malady has done its fatal work!

Because much mischief often results from the false hopes thus excited, the honest physician warns the friends of the patient—especially

those depending more or less on his efforts—although quite aware that, in general, the task is at best a thankless one. The patient himself is too apt to regard him as a bird of evil omen, or as an evil genius taking a malignant pleasure in predicting the fatal issue even when it is rapidly approaching. Our readers know whether we have had any prejudice of this kind to contend against. If they do not, we respectfully refer them to the ghosts of companies like the Great Western Mutual, the Mutual Protection, the Excelsior, the Craftsmen's, the Reserve Mutual, the National Capital, the Empire Mutual, the Anchor, the Hope, etc., etc.

It is true that even the believers in the transmigration of souls deny that all souls transmigrate. The Brahmins maintain that feeble or half-formed souls do not, or, if they do, that they become extinguished very soon after the transmigration has taken place. "Thus," says one of their learned books, "suppose a half-formed soul gets into the carcass of a donkey having the spavin or the rickets, the quadruped may bray two or three times more lustily than he did before; in a similar contingency a lame goose may cackle more noisily; or a turkey-cock half dead of starvation may strut and exhibit his fine plumage more proudly than ever, but each of those animals very soon relapses into its former condition."\*

This is somewhat in accordance with the Darwinian theory; but whether the doctrine be true in general or not, it will be found in due time to be but too true in regard to our transmigrating insurance companies. By this, however, we would not be understood to mean that all companies that have absorbed soulless companies are without souls themselves. To this, as to most other rules, there are exceptions. Darwin tells us that a vigorous member of a family occasionally takes a weaker member under his protection, and succeeds in lengthening his existence in the struggle for life, but that he rarely, if ever, succeeds in making him a permanent type.

Without pausing here to decide this point, we will turn to the other side of the picture. And what change do we find? It is now ten years since we maintained that, of all the companies then in existence, not more than one out of every ten could be regarded as worthy of public confidence; in other words, we maintained that among the whole number not more than a dozen companies could be relied upon for their strength, permanency, and honesty. This dozen we men-

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\* *Purana*, xvii. v. 2001, et seq.

tioned at the time. Not one of these has passed out of existence, or seems likely to do so; not more than one or two have proved, in their dealings with their policy-holders, unworthy of the estimate we then gave of them. There is not one of the remaining ten of which it can be justly said that it has deprived the widow or the orphan of one dollar which it was legitimately and fairly bound to pay one or the other. The principles which these companies enunciated ten years ago as the basis of their action are the principles which they enunciate to-day. If any have changed their course towards their policy-holders, the change has been for the better; the general result to all has been a decided improvement. We place the reports of two at the head of this article for the purpose of quoting from them, not because the companies which make them—though unsurpassed in excellence—are better than the others, but because they discuss the subject of insurance more fully—because the views they put forward and the precepts they inculcate, are also those—with very little, if any, modification—of the other companies of their class. This will become sufficiently evident as we proceed. Thus, take as an illustration the views of the New England Mutual on the surrender values of policies:

"An absolute surrender can be made of the policy only in cases when the persons interested can assign their rights to the Company. A person who has insured for his own benefit has at any time the right of surrender, and even where the policy is for the benefit of a wife the Company will accept the joint receipt of a husband and wife in full discharge of their interest. But when a policy has been made for the benefit of minor children, it cannot be surrendered upon any terms. This subject is now alluded to, that persons at a distance from the home office who transact their business through agents, or by correspondence with the officers of the Company, may understand the full bearing of a contract made with the Company by them for the benefit of wives and children."—Page 12.

This is straightforward and just, but it is equally applicable to the Manhattan Life, the Phoenix Mutual, the Equitable, and several other companies of this honorable class, which we could mention. The powers and privileges conferred on agents and sub-agents by the New England Mutual, will also be found to be almost identical with those of all other companies, that mean to be honest and to continue stable. Thus the directors proceed:—

"It being taken for granted that the applicant for insurance can read, write, and think, it becomes important for the agent, or solicitor, in accepting an application, and the applicant himself to know that what has been signed and witnessed is a warranty to the Company that the facts therein stated, upon which the Company is to issue its contract, is absolutely true. It is not a mere representation of facts, to the best of the applicant's knowledge, but a clear, distinct avowal that the Company is possessed of all the information that can possibly be had. If a fact is mis-



stated or concealed, the Company assumes a risk when it insures upon such an application, for which the rate of premium chargeable to a person in ordinary health will not afford due compensation. If an applicant should omit to state so unimportant a fact to him as that he had not within a certain period employed a physician, he thereby warrants the truth of his statement, even though the disease for which he was treated may not have any bearing upon the acceptance or rejection of the risk. A person of ordinary business habits, who knows that what he puts his hand to he must stand by, *has no conception of the danger he runs when he conceals or mis-states any fact in an application for life insurance. Such an act is sure not only to imperil the existence of the policy, but may bring want upon innocent parties for whose benefit the premiums have been paid.*"

Had those companies which have either given up the ghost altogether, or transmigrated, pursued this honest course, they might have possessed an independent existence to-day, since the companies which do so—such as the Knickerbocker, the New York Continental, the New York National, the Guardian, the North America and United States, etc.—prove their vitality even while they seem most assailed by difficulties. It is pleasant to add that in the same report we have a new illustration of the adage "honesty is the best policy," thus:—

"The Company has paid out the past year upon two hundred and twenty-three policies, the sum of \$670,283.00, and there are falling due within the next sixty days \$102,730.00 upon thirty-nine policies, making a total of \$773,013.00 upon two hundred and sixty-two policies, against \$575,315.00 upon two hundred and seventy-two policies, in the year preceding. There have also been paid \$33,100.00 upon fourteen matured endowments, against \$36,000.00 upon nine policies, in 1871. The total amount paid in 1872, is \$806,113.00 against \$911,315.00 in 1871."

No one who reflects can fail to regard as a beneficent institution one which has paid such sums to widows and orphans within the two past years; and yet, as we shall see presently, there are several other companies that have adduced arguments equally solid and noble in favor of life insurance.

But first let us turn for a moment to the report of the president of the Mutual Benefit. More than once we have compared the reports of this gentleman with those of the president of the New England Mutual. In each we are always sure to find sound, honest thoughts on life insurance. Mr. Grover as well as Mr. Stevens gives us many such on the present occasion. That the following is of this character will be readily admitted, especially by editors:

"Experience and observation show that the purest minds need often to be 'stirred up by way of remembrance.' What seems to some the plainest and most easily remembered truths, are obscure and most easily forgotten by others. It is a conceded fact that it is only by 'line upon line and precept upon precept' that the best of human beings are kept in the path of duty."

Still truer is this of "the worst of human beings." We could mention quite a score of presidents whom no amount of lines or precepts could keep in the path of duty—presidents who hate lines and precepts, except those in their praise, as much as Satan is said to hate holy water, or as much as the provost of the University of Pennsylvania hates Latin! But Mr. Grover by no means forgets this interesting class. After showing the large increase of mortality during the past year, and its chief causes, he proceeds:

"There is reason to believe that when the experience of the life companies for the year is collected, it will furnish the *strongest argument against the proposition recently made to reduce the premium rate on life policies*; a subject which so greatly excited the insurance interest a short time since. Certainly no company or association of companies in this country has had the experience necessary to *make so radical a change.*"

But this is not all. Mr. Grover first shows very truly what the Mutual Benefit has been doing since its organization for its policy holders; then he points out certain things which it has not done, thus:—

"None of its assets were invested in *hazardous or speculative securities*. No *Director or Officer* was allowed to *receive commissions on business or loans*, nor have any of them acquired wealth in its service. The Association has acted as a kind and faithful friend rather than a rigid and exacting task-master."

This seems to show that Mr. Grover has not before his eyes the fear of libel suits. But gentlemen of the bar are not generally a timid race. Besides, we believe, there is no Bastille at Newark—no "sponging house." The little State of New Jersey may be mocked at as out of the Union, but she clings to no institution abolished in all the principal monarchical countries of Europe more than a century ago. Doubtless Mr. Grover feels perfectly safe, therefore, in giving free expression to his opinions.

We may remark in passing, that were we vindictive we should rather thank, than blame, Mr. Winston for his libel suits. This all our insurance readers know; but our readers in general are not aware that for the many years during which the editor of the Insurance Times was the henchman and special champion of Mr. Winston and the Mutual Life, none were more grossly abused by him than we. The slightest criticism on either the president or his company was sure to bring on our head a torrent of the vilest abuse, precisely such as we have received from the quack doctors, and from the worthy organs of superstition, bigotry and intolerance. Not only would the gentleman now in our New York Bastille throw all sorts of filth at us with his own hand to please those whom we had criticised, but also make his paper

the vehicle of the similar garbage heaped up by others. Thus, for example, a sort of sheet got up by the Traveller's Insurance Company, exactly on the plan of the similar sheets of the quack doctors and manufacturers of patent medicines, would contain a column of such low abuse of us as a decent fish-woman would blush to own as illustrative of her vocabulary. Several copies of this were sent to our office duly marked; the same thing was scattered broadcast in the railway cars, stations, &c. Lest all this might not be enough, he who was so long the ardent admirer and zealous champion—not to say the hired bully—of Mr. Winston, and who now avows a much worse opinion of him than we ever entertained or expressed, would copy the whole thing into his paper!

To this day we have never condescended to make any reply to his attacks, or to any such. But we think it is sufficiently clear that were we spiteful we should regard the course of Mr. Winston only as a manifestation of retributive justice, especially as—so far as we are aware—he has never interfered in any manner with ourselves. Mr. Winston has certainly never threatened us. It is true, upon the other hand, that we have never for one moment entertained any malice against him. When editors criticise, there are always those who will say that it is because they have not got patronage; because their "little bill" has not been paid, &c. But the Mutual Life was the first of all insurance companies to patronize the National Quarterly. We found fault with some of the calculations of the Mutual on "the expectation of life"; and its huge advertisement was withdrawn. That it had a perfect right to withdraw we have never denied; and since we have never to this day called on its president; never spoken to him on any subject; since, so far as we are aware, he has never treated us with any discourtesy, there has been no reason, at any time, why we should speak of himself or his company otherwise than, as we thought, fairly and justly. Nor have we ever done so, however severe we may have seemed on some occasions.

We have said that, far from threatening or insulting us, Mr. Winston has never treated us with the slightest incivility; and we may add that none of his colleagues have treated us differently. But could we say the same of all underwriters whom we have criticised? There are several companies now extinct whose officers have threatened us again and again, in every way; but our readers know whether it is likely that any of them have ever succeeded in frightening us. We understood all about the Bastille three months ago, nay, ten years ago,

just as well as we do now. But we were equally familiar with the fact that a large proportion of the world's most eminent thinkers, philosophers, poets, and scientific discoverers, as well as editors and critics, have been inmates of still worse dungeons. Nor can we accuse the president of the Mutual Life of any marked proneness to libel suits, since one swallow makes no summer, even though it be a very noisy swallow—one that makes a greater fuss than a dozen of discreet, sensible swallows. We can hardly be said, therefore, to be merely selfish in inviting the earnest attention of those of our readers who have power and influence to our Ludlow street Bastille, since as long as it exists there is no one so rich or so scrupulously upright—let his business be what it may—that he can say he may not one day find himself immured within its walls. For be it remembered that editors are liable to be placed there only in common with men of any other profession or calling, who may be required to give security for a larger amount of money than their friends may be able or willing to become their sureties for. Thus the institution is not only a satire on our boasted liberty of the press and freedom of thought; it is a satire on the right which every man is supposed to have in this country, to the enjoyment of his personal liberty until he shall have been proved guilty of crime by due process of law.

But there is another view of such cases as the particular one referred to. Who will say that Mr. Winston has done himself, or the Mutual Life, any good by his eight libel suits against his former retainer and champion? Does any one think the more highly of president, or company, on account of them? Is it likely that any one will, when all are brought to an issue, if they ever are? Supposing that a verdict were obtained to-morrow in favor of the Mutual Life and its president—a contingency not in the least probable—would it not be dearly bought? Would it not prove the most useless of all the "whitewashing processes" ever attempted by Mr. Winston? for the American people have far too much generosity not to frown grimly on those who, having a giant's strength (especially in the form of wealth), use it like a giant in oppressing the weak!

Be this as it may, we think the course of the other companies mentioned above in the same category with the New England Mutual and the Mutual Benefit, is much more compatible with the benevolent object and tendency of life insurance. This is eminently true, for example, of that of the Manhattan Life. The officers

of this company engage in no quarrels. They indulge in no "hazardous or speculative securities;" neither do they "receive commissions," or acquire wealth at the expense of the policy holders. Yet they, too, are attacked by certain writers; but they do not deem it necessary to institute any libel suits to vindicate their character. They let the fruits of their labors vindicate them—such fruits as the following taken from their last annual statement:

Gross Assets, January 1, 1873 .....	\$8,341,154 92
Reserve required for all policies in force.....	\$6,356,936 68
Claims by death, not yet due.....	210,947 00
Dividends unpaid and all other liability.....	207,037 43
	<hr/>
	6,774,921 11
Undivided Surplus.....	<hr/> \$1,566,233 81 <hr/>

We venture to predict that no part of this surplus will be used for any "white-washing" purpose—either to execute vengeance on anybody, or to make black seem white! To do so were to contradict the following well-known characteristics of the company: "Prudence and skill in administration," "Justice and liberality in the payment of all losses and dividends," "Even and uninterrupted success in its operations from the very beginning."

We believe that even our enemies, if we really have any such, do not accuse us of being superstitious; and yet we think that honesty, integrity, and benevolence are inherited even by corporations—at least by insurance companies. And in proof of the fact we refer to the character of the New York National, whose president and vice-president qualified themselves for their present position as the efficient and successful agents of the Manhattan. The National has never made any fuss, or indulged in any clap-trap. It has had to struggle against the prejudices excited by the conduct of companies of a very different character, some of which no longer exist; but it is pleasant to add that there is now ample evidence that the success of the company is no longer a matter of doubt. This seems to be everywhere acknowledged. We cannot give our readers a more correct idea of its present status than by quoting the following extract from an article in a recent number of the *Baltimore Underwriter and National Economist*, a journal which deservedly enjoys a high character for ability and honesty:

"This excellent company has nearly completed the tenth year of its work in the good cause in which it is engaged. In striving for business alongside of older and larger companies, it has encountered up-hill work, but in contending *with the evils of reckless competition*, its progress has been most seriously interfered with.

Under the steady management of its admirable leader, Mr. E. A. Jones, however, it is emerging into the broad sunshine. The assets, freed from all items not available, are set down at \$827,744, and the liabilities, which, a year ago, were stated to be \$806,665, *have been reduced to \$664,488.* We are glad to note that the Company has adopted measures for conducting its business according to the improved methods of growing experience, and thus *strengthening its position and presenting a clear balance sheet."*

This is more than could be said of those understood to be the offspring of companies like the Mutual Life. Take, for example, the Widows and Orphan's Benefit, which we so often criticised, and which no longer exists, even in a state of amalgamation. We are not aware that the Universal,—said to be another offshoot,—has yet amalgamated, or transmigrated, but we should not be much surprised at receiving that intelligence before a very long period.

Nor do the offspring of the New York Life seem endowed with any more vitality; but rather less, if possible. They also are too much like Romeo's poor apothecary—the world is not their friend, nor the world's law! The Globe Mutual is nothing the better, we fear, for having obtained its president from the New York Life. For our own part we should have had much more confidence in that functionary had he come from the old Knickerbocker, from the Equitable, or from the Continental—that is, supposing that decrepid age could, by some *lusus nature*, be the descendant of vigorous, progressive age.

Yet the Globe, too, has had a little one or two—untimely births—such as the Protection Mutual, combined, if we remember correctly, with the Widows' and Orphans' Benefit, to form the Reserve Mutual, which in turn has had to pass into the bosom of the Guardian Life to save itself from annihilation. But the policy-holders of the defunct concerns may regard this as the end of their difficulties. Whatever those who consider the funds of insurance companies legitimate plunder may choose to say of the Guardian, it has always dealt fairly and liberally with its policy-holders; and it was never in a better condition to meet all lawful claims on its treasury than it is now, with its assets of nearly four millions, and its surplus above all liabilities of \$213,167.13. There are some people who do more good during the last few hours of their life than they had done during as many dozens of years previously, and we think the fact is true of the ghosts of the Protection, the Widows' and Orphans' Benefit, and the Reserve Mutual, since they secured for their policy holders the characteristic, watchful care of the Guardian Life.

Although we were sorry for the retirement of Mr. Lyman from

the management of the Knickerbocker—having long regarded that gentleman as one of our ablest and most intelligent underwriters—we have seen no reason, on due reflection, to abate in the slightest degree our ancient abiding faith in that institution. When Mr. Lyman is sufficiently recovered in health, we should certainly like to see him at the head of some solid company, for there are so few who thoroughly understand the principles of life insurance, and who combine with their experience and knowledge so many of those qualities which give the intercourse between man and man its chief zest, altogether independently of dollars and cents, that the cultivated honest portion of the underwriting fraternity cannot afford the loss of such a man as a member of their guild. But, in the meantime, we are glad to see that the course of the old Knickerbocker is unequivocally onward. Until recently we had not the pleasure of knowing its new president personally. We, therefore, expressed no opinion as to his qualifications or fitness for so important a position. But Mr. Stanton is not merely a man of large wealth whose word is a bond; he has also a thorough knowledge of insurance from his long connection with the Knickerbocker, both as a director and vice-president; and what is, perhaps, still better, he is devoted to life insurance, in the spirit of the true philanthropist, for the good it does. As for the present vice-president, there is no underwriter whom we know better, or of whose qualifications we entertain a higher opinion. In short, Mr. Nichols occupies the first rank, both intellectually and morally, among American underwriters. And what the secretary of the Knickerbocker is—the gentleman who has occupied that position since the organization of the company—we need not say. It is sufficient to inform all whom the fact concerns, that he is still at his desk as ready and willing as ever to countersign the check of the widow or the orphan. But we will allow some of its figures to speak for the Knickerbocker:—

Net Assets, January 1, 1873 .....	\$6,726,047.79
Income, 1872:	
From Premiums .....	\$2,731,083.42
From Interest and Rents .....	426,028.34
	<hr/>
	3,157,111.76
	<hr/>
	\$9,883,159.55
<i>Paid Death Claims</i> .....	\$867,954.73
<i>Paid Matured Endowments, Dividends, Surrendered and</i>	
<i>Lapsed Policies</i> .....	1,568,650.87
	<hr/>
<i>Total Paid Policy-holders</i> .....	\$2,436,605.60
Net Assets, January 1, 1873 .....	\$7,064,137.67
Gross Assets, January 1, 1873 .....	8,099,890.90
Surplus .....	1,048,493.23

No intelligent policy-holder could wish for a more encouraging record than this; and we do not hesitate to predict, from present appearances, and from other data before us, that the record for 1873 will prove still better.

It is but rarely, however, that a company continues to make progress after the retirement of its presiding officer, whether his retirement be caused by sickness or death. Only one instance more occurs to us at this moment; we allude to the case of the New York Continental, which, as we shall presently show, has not been retarded in the least in its remarkable, solid progress by the death of a president who had no superior anywhere in all the qualifications that constitute an able and faithful underwriter. But that the rule is as we say may be easily proved. Take the Metropolitan, for example. This company owes its origin to the bright, keen underwriter who has also established the National, which he still guides, as shown above. On this gentleman's retirement from what may be called the germ of the Metropolitan, a certain doctor came into power in his place; but his doctoring had only the effect of turning a healthy subject into an invalid, until finally the doctor himself grew sick and died. He was succeeded by a gentleman who combined the accomplishments of a Sunday-school class leader with those of a manufacturer of flashy pictures. What the actual results are which the third president has produced we will not undertake to say. That we leave our readers to judge from the large "assets" which he displays in his last annual statement. We have not room for all the items of this wonderful, sworn document; we can only extract one:

Furniture, safes, and agency material..... \$34,429 01

What the "agency material" may be, is one of the many things of which we are ignorant. We are informed that it includes some expensive "cuts." Be this as it may, we must confess that we should be rather unwilling to rank this class of "assets" among the "available," except we happened to have creditors obliging enough to be satisfied with one dollar for every thirty due to them.

But the Metropolitan has, we believe, lost all its former officers, whereas the Knickerbocker and Continental have only lost one each. In other words the former has exchanged its old lamps for new lamps, as in the story of Aladin, whereas the two latter have each received an old lamp in exchange for an old lamp. At the Continental office, as well as at the Knickerbocker office, the good old secretary still re-



mains. So does the good old vice-president. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Wynkoop are a tower of strength in themselves. Then who is Mr. L. W. Frost, the new president of the Continental? He is just such a man as Mr. John A. Nichols, the present vice-president of the Knickerbocker. The two are alike, not only in intelligence, shrewdness and energy, as underwriters; they are alike as to their previous relations to their respective companies. As one was a capital general agent so was the other; as one had contributed much to the resources and solidity of his company, so had the other. Accordingly as the Knickerbocker continues to increase its facilities for doing good so does the Continental; a fact sufficiently illustrated by the following figures:—

Number of Policies issued to January 1, 1873 .....	44,580
Number of Policies issued in 1872 .....	12,010
Assets, January 1, 1873 .....	\$6,059,201

Thus only two of all our companies have issued more policies in 1872 than the Continental, and the excess, even of that which has issued the largest number—the great Equitable Life—is less than a hundred policies.

Formerly our opinion of the North American Life was not favorable, and our readers know that, as long as we entertained that opinion, we did not speak favorably of it. The truth of the matter is, we were led to believe that that company oppressed those on whose houses it held mortgages by suddenly demanding the amount of the mortgage when such a demand was least expected, and it was most difficult, or impossible, to meet it. First we regarded this as incredible, its president having been one of the first of our underwriters whose course we regarded as commendable; for, while Mr. Morgan was the president of the Manhattan, we knew no more judicious, upright and faithful officer. But one after another assured us that the mortgage business of the North America was, for the reasons above mentioned, such as ought to bring discredit on any company, until we could not help believing that there must be some truth in the charge. Hence our criticisms; but by mere accident we were presented an opportunity of putting it to the test, and it is but simple justice to say that never have we tested any one more utterly unfounded. Quite a considerable number on whose houses the North America has held mortgages have assured us that no officers or business men could have dealt with them more gently, or more generously, than President Morgan and Vice-President Merrill; and we can now bear similar

testimony ourselves from personal experience. It affords us sincere pleasure, therefore, to see that there are many evidences of the increasing prosperity of the North America. Its plan of issuing New York State registered policies, which are secured by pledge of public stocks, like the circulation of national banks, places it in the first rank among those companies on whose checks the widow and the orphan may rely in the hour of need.

As for the Equitable it has grown truly gigantic; it has already attained that high position which we have often predicted for it as the goal to which it was rapidly tending from the outset. During the past year it has issued more policies than any other company. Its assets now amount to nearly twenty millions (\$19,695,053), and its income approximates closely to eight millions and a half (\$8,420,044). These are grand results. Yet who can say that they have made the principal manager of the Equitable, or any of his colleagues, overbearing, or purse-proud? Mr. Hyde, too, and his company have been assailed. Grave charges have been made against both without the slightest foundation; but we have not heard that any one has been incarcerated or arrested for them. The officers of that company have, it seems, come to the wise and correct conclusion that they need no violent means—no sheriffs, no “sponging-houses,” no jury verdicts—to convince the American people that they are honest and honorable men.

This time we seem to have forgotten the underwriters of Hartford, but it is not so. There are no better anywhere than certain members of the guild, who make that handsome, wealthy, polite city their home. We are reminded of these gentlemen now, by the United States Life, whose president has had important relations with them, and who possesses some of their sterling qualities. These qualities have enabled Mr. De Witt to increase the strength and power of the United States Life very considerably. Its prestige is very different to-day from what it was when that gentleman took charge of it. At the same time, he has yet much to learn from his Hartford friends. The officers of the Phoenix are not fitful, or hesitating in their progress; it is forward they look, not behind. They don't think half as much of what Mrs. Grundy says, as they do of what they think and *believe* themselves, even when Mrs. Grundy has become very rich, and assumed a threatening aspect. In short, they mind their own business, and that only, and will turn out of their way for nobody without solid reasons of their own for doing so. The United States Life is certainly a good, safe company, and its president is an honest man; we only think that the interests of

both, as well as those of their policy-holders would be consulted by the adoption from the Phoenix gentlemen, of some of those additional qualities which we have pointed out. In the meantime the Phoenix now stands confessedly at the head of all the Hartford companies, in the strong hold which it has gained on the public confidence. In illustration of this, we take pleasure in presenting those of our readers interested in life insurance, the following items from its last annual statement:—

POLICIES ISSUED, 1827, 10,572. INCOME, 1872, \$3,413,752.45.

Assets, securely invested.....	\$8,209,325 07
Surplus, free of all liabilities.....	1,199,831 50
Dividends, paid to policy-holders during the year.....	943,441 71
Income for the year.....	3,413,752 45
Losses paid during the year.....	831,116 32

Neither the Ætna Life, nor the Connecticut Mutual presents any such results as these for the year. It is true that both these companies make a large display of assets; but to us those assets do not seem exactly the right kind. Thus, for example, the Ætna exhibits such items as the following:

Furniture of office, including agencies.....	\$13,693 35
Obligations for capital stock.....	46,944 00

It will be admitted, that nearly fourteen thousand dollars would purchase a handsome amount of furniture. Then, if only in use one month, how much would it bring? Is the Ætna furniture really worth more than \$5,000 at this moment? That is, would it bring more if sold to the highest bidder under the hammer? We think not. We will not say that the rest of the Ætna assets are equally exaggerated; but we are sorry to think that that company has rather degenerated.

It is otherwise, however, with the Charter Oak. This company has one of the most magnificent insurance palaces in the world; nor do we know of any insurance palace in Europe or America more elegantly furnished. But what is the estimate set upon its furniture by Mr. Walkley? It is the following:

Furniture, safes and fixtures.....	\$9,254 32
------------------------------------	------------

This is quite a difference. In our opinion, the Charter Oak furniture is better worth \$14,000 than the Ætna furniture is worth \$9,000. This is of little importance, except so far as it shows how differently some people will estimate their goods from the manner in which others

estimate theirs. We remember the time when the *Etna* figured in a different way. Then we used to contrast its figuring with that of the *Traveller* in regard to its "pictures." But where shall we find a contrast now, except among those companies which include their breeches and night-caps among their assets?

Be this as it may, we think that with the exceptions mentioned as such the Hartford companies are retrograding instead of advancing. Those interested in denying this will doubtless say that we commend our favorites only because they are our favorites. But let those whose interest it is only to ascertain the truth, compare the various Hartford companies' own annual statements with each other, especially in regard to their assets, and to the number of policies issued within the last two years, and then ask themselves whether our favoritism be not founded on straightforward honesty, truth, and justice. If these researches be not entirely satisfactory let the officers of the different companies be compared with each other. What names of underwriters inspire more confidence among those who know them, in Hartford or elsewhere, than Fessenden, Walkley, Burns? Will those sagacious, disinterested, and incorruptible Hartford editors, who, as the champions of the Hartford shams, occasionally abuse us, be kind enough to answer this question as soon as convenient. We shall have no particular objection if, by way of condiment, they add a little scurrility, call us a few hard names, etc.

It is a curious fact that the life companies of Pennsylvania are, with one or two exceptions, as much inferior to those of New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, as the University of Pennsylvania is to the universities and colleges of those States. This is something like a phenomenon; but we cannot close our eyes to it. That it does not arise from lack of intelligence, or lack of honesty on the part of Pennsylvanians, none admit more readily than we. Indeed, it is precisely because the Pennsylvanians are a good-natured, well-disposed people that it is so comparatively easy to induce them, by means of fair speeches and fine promises (even when both are in "broken English") to accept brass for gold.

For the present, however, we will abstain from criticising Pennsylvania companies. We can assure all whom it may concern, that we have never done so but with sincere reluctance; and our feeling in that respect has undergone no change. It is much more agreeable to us to praise than to censure, when we can do the former justly; and, in proof of the fact, we most cheerfully inform our readers that the

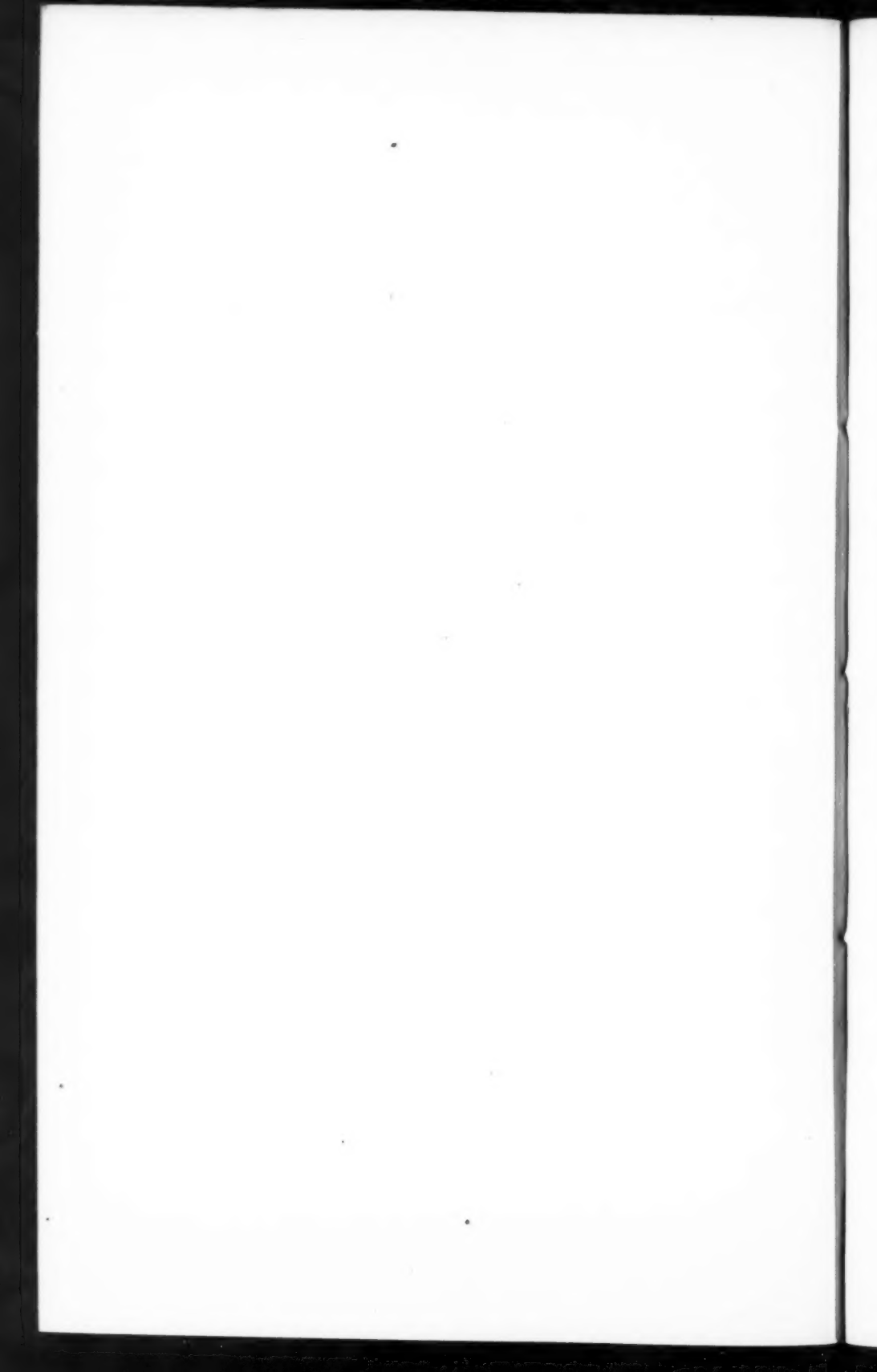
twenty-third annual statement of the American Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia is a very satisfactory and creditable document. In order that our readers may be able to form an opinion of their own as to the correctness or incorrectness of this estimate, we extract the following facts and figures, from the official paper before us:

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1872.

Premiums received during the year.....	\$1,172,654 41
Interest received from Investments and Rents.....	230,781 28
	<hr/>
Assets, January 1, 1873.....	\$1,403,435 69
	\$3,985,111 58

These figures form a good record, especially as their truthfulness is attested by such names, among the trustees of the American Life, as J. Edgar Thompson, the great railroad king; James Pollock, ex-governor of Pennsylvania; John Wanamaker, merchant prince, etc. In a word, this company, while under the guidance of so enlightened and judicious a presiding officer as Mr. George W. Hill, may well be regarded as an honorable exception to the general character of Philadelphia life insurance companies, and as a proof that the right materials exist in that good city if they are only made available.

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perfect Printing Office  
furnished.

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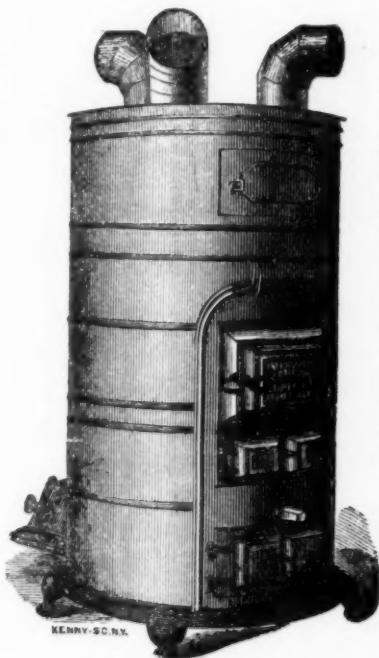
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IMPROVED

## MACGREGOR'S PATENT

### Heating and Ventilating Furnaces.

H. METCALF, 113 BEEKMAN STREET, N. Y. City.



PORTABLE—Six Sizes.

an exceedingly poisonous agent, and most of the discomfort experienced in rooms heated by cast-iron stoves is attributable to that gas.

In the MACGREGOR FURNACE, any unpleasant effect of this kind is entirely prevented. The downward draft of this Furnace compels the entire body of gases to become thoroughly mixed and utilized, as well as converting into useful radiating surface the whole exterior surface of the Furnace. By this method of construction, the evil effects above alluded to are entirely obviated, and a mild summer-like heat is produced, free from the disagreeable sickening sensations experienced in many Furnaces.

In respectfully directing attention to the MACGREGOR HEATING AND VENTILATING FURNACE, I desire to call attention to the following advantages embraced in its construction:

**ECONOMY.**—The aim of all constructors of heating apparatus has been to evolve from the coal its maximum of heat by a proper combination of the gases set free from the coal, and to retain these gases in the combustion chamber until so properly combined or consumed. To accomplish these objects, many complicated and other expensive arrangements have been made, none of which have been successful for the following reasons: All heat above the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere sets free more or less rapidly the gases of the coal; these gases form about one-fourth of the total weight of the coal, and if permitted to pass off unconsumed, entail a corresponding loss of heat. These principles are taken advantage of in the MACGREGOR FURNACE by constructing a dome or combustion chamber over the fire, into which these gases are permitted to rise and fully combine. Slow combustion, one of the results of this construction, has been found in practice to be the most effective and economic method of burning coal.

**EASE OF MANAGEMENT.**—Any one can manage it. It has no complication of dampers, but is easily and readily controlled by the door of the exit pipe, the opening or shutting of which checks or accelerates the fire.

**PURITY OF AIR.**—The porosity of cast-iron is a well-known fact. It was found by a very carefully conducted experiment, that hydrogen, carbonic acid and carbonic oxide do actually pass through the walls of a cast-iron stove, at a bright red heat. The amount of gases which pass is certainly not large, but carbonic oxide is

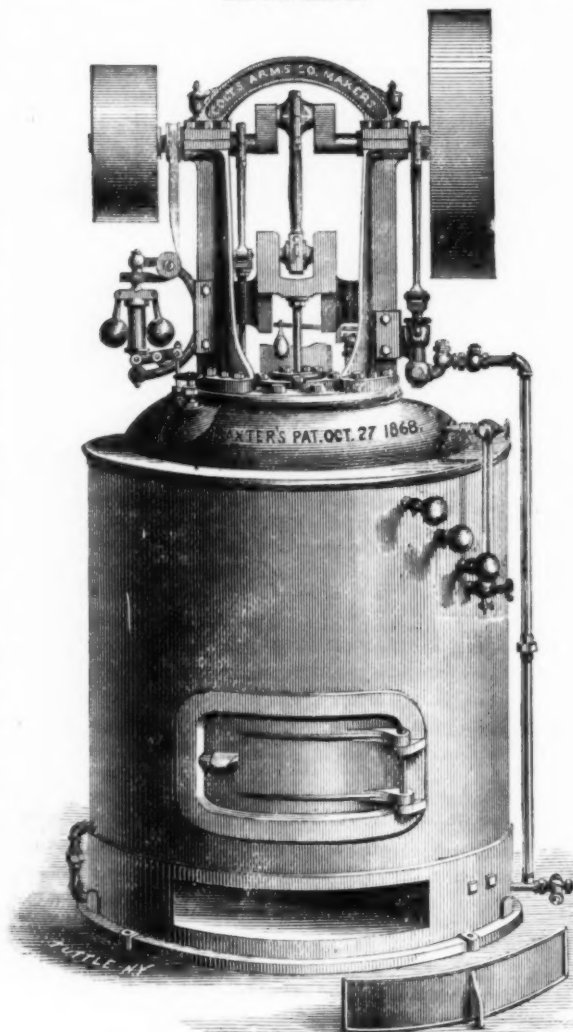
# The Baxter Steam Engine

MANUFACTURED BY

COLT'S PATENT FIRE-ARMS MANUFACTURING CO.,

AND FOR SALE BY

SIZES, FROM 2 to 10 HORSE POWER.



PRICES, FROM \$500 to \$1500.

**WM. D. RUSSELL, - 18 Park Place, New York.***Send for Circular, Price List and Testimonials.*



---

## REMOVAL.

---

MR. HUGH B. JACKSON,

IMPORTER OF AND DEALER IN

**Wines, Teas**

—AND—

**Fine Groceries,**

Has removed his well-known establishment, for many years in Fifth Avenue Hotel Building, to

**182 FIFTH AVENUE.**

---

MR. JACKSON has taken a lease, for twenty years, of the premises

182 Fifth Ave., bet. Twenty-second and Twenty-third Sts.,

on which he is now erecting a handsome spacious iron front building expressly to meet the requirements of the large increase in his business.

The new establishment will be provided with vaults, and all other appliances which science and experience have proved to be necessary for such a business.

MR. JACKSON trusts it is needless for him to speak of the qualities of his TEAS, COFFEES, WINES, FRUITS, SAUCES, CONDIMENTS, &c., further than to assure his customers that he will continue to exert himself more and more to secure for them the best the European and American markets afford.

**HUGH B. JACKSON,**

*182 Fifth Avenue, Madison Square.*

# GEO. W. SIMMONS & SON, Oak Hall,

BOSTON, - - - MASS.

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in

## MEN'S & BOYS' CLOTHING AND Furnishing Goods, HATS AND CAPS, BOOTS AND SHOES.

The clothing house known throughout the country as "Oak Hall," has been established *over fifty years*.

Its present name was adopted thirty years ago. Ten years later the *One Price* system was introduced, and thousands of customers from all parts of the world testify to the conscientious manner in which the principle of equitable dealing towards all has been carried out.

For this season's trade we have in stock a large and varied assortment of goods, adapted to the wants of *all classes*.

Our Ready-made Clothing is manufactured in the most thorough manner, and warranted in every respect.

Our Custom Department is supplied with the choicest foreign and domestic woollens; and we make garments to order at prices which correspond in ratio of profit to prices paid for ready-made clothing.

**Our Ulster Overcoat** (which was first introduced throughout the United States by us) will soon give place to more seasonable novelties, such as **Pijamahs, Cobias, and Real Japanese Paper Clothing**; and our friends are assured that we shall continue to lead in bringing before the public all really valuable novelties in the clothing line.

For clothing of any description, **Hats, Caps, Boots, Shoes, Umbrellas, Hammocks, &c.**, orders can be sent by mail, telegraph or express, and filled with perfect satisfaction.

G. W. SIMMONS & SON,  
32, 34, 36 & 38 North St.,  
BOSTON, MASS.

# ONLY DIRECT LINE TO FRANCE.

## The General Transatlantic Company's Mail Steamships between New York and Havre, calling at Brest.

The splendid vessels on this favorite route for the Continent will sail from pier No. 40, North River, as follows:

ST. LAURENT, Lemarie.....Saturday, April 5  
VILLE DU HAVRE, Surmount.....Saturday, April 19  
PEREIRE, Danre.....Saturday, May 3

*Price of Passage, in Gold (including Wine), to Brest or Havre, First Cabin, \$125; Second Cabin, \$75.*

EXCURSION TICKETS AT REDUCED RATES.

These Steamers do not carry Steerage Passengers.

American travellers going to or returning from the Continent of Europe, by taking the steamers of this line, avoid both transit by English railway and the discomforts of crossing the Channel, besides saving time, trouble and expense.

**GEORGE MACKENZIE, Agent, 58 Broadway.**

## INMAN LINE,

FOR

## QUEENSTOWN & LIVERPOOL.

CITY OF MONTREAL.....Saturday, April 5, at 12 M.  
CITY OF BRISTOL.....Thursday, April 10, at 2 P.M.  
CITY OF BROOKLYN.....Saturday, April 12, at 2 P.M.  
CITY OF WASHINGTON.....Thursday, April 17, at 9 A.M.

and each succeeding Saturday and Thursday, from Pier 45, North River.

### RATES OF PASSAGE.

PAYABLE IN GOLD.		PAYABLE IN CURRENCY.	
First Cabin.....	\$65	Steerage.....	\$30
To London.....	80	To London.....	50
To Paris.....	90	To Paris.....	35

Parties also forwarded to Havre, Hamburg, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, at reduced rates.

Tickets can be bought here at moderate rates by persons wishing to send for their friends.

Through bills of lading given on shipment of goods to Havre and Antwerp.

Drafts issued at lowest rates.

For further information apply at the Company's office.

**JOHN C. DALE, Agent,**  
**15 Broadway, New York.**

# Pennsylvania Central Railroad.

SHORT ROUTE BETWEEN THE  
EAST AND WEST,

Running Cars without Change between

**New York and Crestline, Chicago, Columbus, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Louisville, and St. Louis.**

Through Time both East and West between

NEW YORK and PITTSBURGH,	-	-	-	-	15 hours.
" CINCINNATI,	-	-	-	-	27 "
" CHICAGO,	-	-	-	-	27 "
" ST. LOUIS,	-	-	-	-	42 "

**NEW YORK DIVISION,**

**New Jersey, Camden & Amboy,**

AND

**PHILADELPHIA & TRENTON RAILROADS.**

GREAT THROUGH LINE WITHOUT CHANGE OF CARS  
TO

**PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON,  
AND THE WEST!**

**For Philadelphia.**

Leave Foot of Cortlandt Street at 7, 8.30 and 9.30 A. M.; 12.30, 1, 4, 5, 6.30 and 9.20 P. M., and 12 Midnight.

Leave Pier No. 1, N. R., at 4 P. M.

**For Baltimore and Washington.**

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 9.30 A. M., 12.30 and 9.20 P. M.

**For Pittsburgh, Chicago and Cincinnati.**

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 9.30 A. M., 6 and 8.30 P. M.

The arrangement of Sleeping Cars by this and connecting roads is such as to afford the utmost convenience to passengers. They run from supper to breakfast stations, passing intervening connecting points without change between New York and Pittsburgh, Altoona, and Crestline or Dennison; Pittsburgh and Chicago, Cincinnati or Indianapolis, St. Louis and Crestline, Columbus or Cincinnati; New Orleans and Louisville.

**ASK FOR TICKETS VIA PITTSBURGH.**

For sale at all the principal Railroad Ticket Offices throughout the country.

**HENRY W. GWINNER,**  
General Passenger and Ticket Agent.

**A. J. CASSATT,**  
General Superintendent.

# JOHN C. HAM,

MANUFACTURER OF

**Fine Carriages and Harness,**

SOLE MANUFACTURER OF THE

**PATENT LANDAULET**

FOR ONE OR TWO HORSES,

AND FOR EITHER SUMMER OR WINTER USE.

ALSO FOR THE FOUR AND SIX SEAT CIRCULAR FRONT

**Family Coupe, Rockaway and  $\frac{3}{4}$  Landaulet**

**With the Octagon Front.**

MY OWN STYLES OF

**Pony Phaetons, Landaus, Coupes, Landaulets**

AND

**FINE BUGGIES.**

I sell 20 per cent. less than Broadway or 5th Avenue Stores.

**WAREROOMS**

**10, 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20 East Fourth Street,  
NEW YORK.**

**ESTABLISHED 1837.**

THE  
**MANHATTAN**  
Life Insurance Company  
OF NEW YORK.  
Nos. 156 and 158 BROADWAY.

—○—  
NO EXPERIMENTS, BUT AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION.

—○—  
ORGANIZED A. D., 1850.  
—○—

The Manhattan invites a comparison with other Companies as to the following particulars:

1. The Proportions of its Assets to Liabilities.
2. The Ratio of Expenses to Income.
3. Care in the Selection of Risks.
4. Prudence and Skill of Administration.
5. Justice and Liberality in the Payment of all Losses and Dividends.
6. The even and uninterrupted success of its operations from the very beginning.

Gross Assets, January 1, 1873,	-	-	-	-	\$8,341,154 92
Reserve required for all policies in force,	-	\$6,356,936 68			
Claims by death not yet due	-	-	-	210,947 00	
Dividends unpaid and all other liability,	-	207,037 43			
					6,774,921 11
Undivided Surplus,	-	-	-	-	\$1,566,233 81

—○—  
**HENRY STOKES, President,**

**C. Y. WEMPLE, Vice-President.**

**J. L. HALSEY, Secretary.**

**H. Y. WEMPLE, Asst. Secretary.**

**S. N. STEBBINS, Actuary.**

**NEW ENGLAND**  
**MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.**  
 OF BOSTON.

Branch Office 110 Broadway, New York.

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**DIRECTORS IN BOSTON:**

SEWELL TAPPAN,  
 MARSHALL P. WILDER,  
 JAMES S. AMORY,  
 CHARLES HUBBARD,  
 GEORGE H. FOLGER,

HOMER BARTLETT,  
 DWIGHT FOSTER,  
 JAMES STURGIS,  
 W. W. TUCKER,  
 BENJ. F. STEVENS.

**BENJAMIN F. STEVENS,**

President.

**JOSEPH M. GIBBENS,**

Secretary.

---

Accumulation, - - - - \$11,000,000

Distribution of Surplus in 29 yrs. 4,500,000

Losses paid in 29 years, \$5,300,000.

---

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.

Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, and payable as the  
 Premiums fall due.

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report  
 of the Company for the past year, and Tables of Premiums, supplied  
 gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing

**SAMUEL S. STEVENS,**

AGENT AND ATTORNEY FOR THE COMPANY,

*No. 110 BROADWAY,*

Cor. Pine Street,

NEW YORK.

CONTINENTAL  
**Life Insurance Co.,**  
 OF NEW YORK.




---

No. of Policies Issued in 1872, - - - - -	12,010
Amount Insured in 1872, - - - - -	\$22,715,925
Whole No. of Policies Issued by the Company, - - -	54,580

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Annual Statement, January 1, 1873.

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Income, 1872.....	\$3,158,105 33
Asset .....	\$6,059,201 85
Surplus (N. Y. Standard).....	\$540,223 85

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OFFICERS.

President, L. W. FROST.	
Vice-President, M. B. WYNKOOP.	Secretary, J. P. ROGERS.
Actuary, S. C. CHANDLER, JR.	
Medical Examiner, E. HERRICK, M.D.	Counsel, WHITNEY & JONES.



# Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company,

239 Broadway, New York.

CHARLES STANTON, Pres't.  
GEO. F. SNIFFEN, Sect'y.

JNO. A. NICHOLS, 2d Vice-Pres't.  
CHAS. M. HIBBARD, Actuary.

## TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT.

JANUARY 1, 1873.

Net Assets, January 1, 1872.....		\$6,726,047 79
Income, 1872 :		
From Premiums.....	\$2,731,083 42	
" Interest and Rents.....	426,028 34	3,157,111 7
		\$9,883,159 55
DISBURSEMENTS :		
Paid Death Claims.....	\$867,954 73	
" Matured Endowments, Dividends, Surrendered and Lapsed Policies.....	\$1,568,650 87	
Total paid Policy Holders.....	\$2,436,605 60	
Dividend on Stock.....	7,085 00	
Commissions, Taxes, Legal and Medical Fees.....	257,046 50	
Rent, Furniture, Re-insurance, Stationery and Office Expenses.....	67,534 33	
Salaries.....	50,750 45	2,819,021 86
Net Assets, January 1, 1873.....		\$7,064,137 67
As follows :		
Real Estate—cost.....	\$260,650 38	
Stocks and Bonds—cost.....	462,974 65	
Loans on Collaterals.....	82,008 00	
Loans on Bonds and Mortgages.....	2,465,413 38	
Cash on hand and in Bank.....	38,164 18	
Premium Loans.....	3,746,973 74	
Furniture, and all other Assets in possession.....	7,953 40	
		\$7,064,137 67
Add :		
Accrued Interest and Rents.....	\$176,342 17	
Unpaid and Deferred Premiums.....	607,085 14	
Commuted Commissions.....	188,161 12	
Due from Agents.....	18,580 40	
Profit on Investments.....	45,584 40	1,035,753 23
Gross Assets, January 1, 1873.....		\$8,099,890 90
LIABILITIES :		
Reserve on all outstanding Policies, December 31, 1872, American 4% per cent.....	\$6,763,483 29	
Losses reported not yet due.....	187,914 39	
Capital Stock.....	100,000 00	7,051,397 68
SURPLUS.....		\$1,048,493 22

RATIO OF EXPENSE (including taxes) TO TOTAL INCOME 12-10.

---

# THE NATIONAL

## Life Insurance Co.,

OF NEW YORK,

NO. 212 BROADWAY.

ISSUES ALL THE NEW FORMS OF POLICIES, and presents as favorable terms as any Company in the United States.

For all Policies, when the Premium has been paid in Cash, after five or more annual payments, AN ANNUITY BOND WILL BE GRANTED in lieu of the same for as many years as there have been annual cash premiums paid.

No Policy or Medical Fee charged.

ALL POLICIES NON-FORFEITABLE, on the principles of the Massachusetts law.

Special attention is called to the NEW PLAN of this Company whereby an ORDINARY LIFE POLICY becomes payable BEFORE THE DEATH OF THE INSURED.

President,  
EDWARD A. JONES.

Vice Pres't,  
J. O. HALSEY.

Secretary,  
J. A. MORTIMORE.

Assistant Sec'y,  
H ARLES G. PEARSON.

---

CALL OR SEND FOR CIRCULAR.

AGENTS WANTED.

THE  
**CHARTER OAK**  
**Life Insurance Company**  
 OF HARTFORD, CONN.

Assets,.....\$10,000,000

*J. C. WALKLEY.....President.*

Z. A. STORRS.....Vice-President.

S. H. WHITE.....Secretary and Treasurer.

HALSEY STEVENS.....Assistant Secretary.

WM. L. SQUIRE.....Actuary.

E. O. GOODWIN.....Sup't of Agencies.

S. W. COWLES, { ..... Home Office Agents.

S. T. LIVERMORE, {

**THE HOPE**

**Fire Insurance Company,**  
**No. 214 BROADWAY,**  
**Park Bank Building.**

**DIRECTORS:**

JOHN W. MERSERAU.....President.

ISAAC D. COLE, Jr.....Vice-Pres't.

Robert Schell,

Joseph Foulke,

Frederick Schuchardt,

Jacob Reese,

Stephen Hyatt,

William Remsen,

Henry S. Leverich,

William H. Terry,

Lebbeus B. Ward,

Henry M. Taber,

D. Lydig Suydam,

D. L. Eigenbrodt,

Joseph Grafton,

Amos Robbins,

Cyrus H. Loutrel.

LOUIS P. BAYARD, Secretary.

NICHOLAS L. BRUNDAGE, Surveyor.

THE  
**EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY**  
 OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*No. 120 Broadway, New York.*

ASSETS - - - -	\$20,000,000 00
INCOME - - - -	8,000,000 00

Amount of NEW ASSURANCE accomplished by the Society during the last four years GREATER than that of any other LIFE COMPANY in the world.

12,436 Policies written in 1872, Assuring \$51,500,000.00.

PRESIDENT:  
 WILLIAM C. ALEXANDER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:  
 HENRY B. HYDE. JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

Secretaries: SAMUEL BORROWE, WM. ALEXANDER.  Physicians: Edward W. Lambert, M. D., Alfred Lambert, M. D.	Actuaries: GEO. W. PHILLIPS, J. G. VANCISE.  Auditors: Wm. P. Halsted, Theo. Weston.
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TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL STATEMENT  
 OF THE  
**AMERICAN**  
**Life Insurance Company**  
 OF  
**PHILADLEPHIA,**  
 S. E. Cor. Fourth and Walnut Sts.,  
 FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1872.

**RECEIPTS.**

Premiums received during the year.....	\$1,172,664 41
Interest received from Investments and Rents.....	230,781 28
	<b>\$1,403,445 69</b>

**LOSSES AND EXPENSES.**

Life Losses paid.....	\$497,576 70
Travelling Agents and Commissions.....	123,533 89
Amounts paid for surrendered Policies.....	17,391 57
Salaries and Medical Examinations.....	35,631 97
U. S. and State Taxes and Licenses.....	20,054 43
Printing, Advertising, Stamps, &c.....	28,326 06
Paid Annuitants.....	2,110 00
	<b>\$734,625 51</b>
Surplus Premiums returned to Insured and Dividends.....	\$317,113 23

**GEORGE W. HILL, President.**      **GEORGE NUGENT, Vice-President.**  
**JOHN C. SIMS, Actuary.**  
**JOHN S. WILSON, Secretary and Treasurer.**  
**J. NEWTON WALKER, M. D.,** } **Medical Examiners.**  
**JOHN F. BIRD, M. D.,** }

**1878.**  
**The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company,**  
**NEWARK, N. J.**

**STATEMENT, JANUARY 1st, 1873.**

Balance as per Statement, January 1, 1872.....\$23,241,795 81

**ASSETS.**

Cash on hand .....	\$503,717 94	
Real Estate .....	149,062 38	
United States Securities .....	1,551,500 00	
State, City and County Bonds .....	6,135,800 00	
Bonds and Mortgages .....	10,224,308 70	
Loans on Policies in force .....	6,852,970 90	
Loans on Scrip .....	1,455 41	
Due for premiums in course of transmission .....	118,978 25	
Interest due and accrued .....	\$534,681 88	25,537,787 58
Premiums due and not yet received on issues principally of November and December (of this sum \$150,000 has since been received, January 15, 1873) .....	438,681 95	973,363 83

**TOTAL ASSETS, January 1, 1873.....\$26,511,151 41**

**LEWIS C. GROVER, President.**

**H. N. CONGAR, Vice-President.**

**EDWARD A. STONG, Sec'y.**

**BENJAMIN C. MILLER, Treas.**

**SAMUEL H. LLOYD,**  
 State Agent Eastern District of New York,  
**137 Broadway, New York.**

**THE UNITED STATES**  
**LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
**Nos. 261, 262 & 263 Broadway,**  
 Corner Warren Street.  
**INCORPORATED 1850.**

NO EXPERIMENT, BUT AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION.

Assets, - - - - -	\$4,000,000
Income, - - - - -	1,350,000
Surplus to Policy Holders, N. Y. Standard, - - -	991,558 83

**PRINCIPAL FEATURES:**

**ABSOLUTE SECURITY. ECONOMICAL MANAGEMENT. LIBERALITY TO INSURED.**

All Forms of Life and Endowment Policies Issued.

**JOHN E. DEWITT, President.**

**CHAS. E. PEASE, Secretary.**

**WILLIAM D. WHITING, Actuary**

**C. P. FRALEIGH, Assistant Secretary.**

**NICHOLAS DEGROOT, Cashier.**

*Fair Contracts made with first-class men for Agencies.*

*From the Boston Post.*

"The *National Quarterly Review* [has] achieved a reputation second to no similar periodical in the country, and to the deep learning, rare ability and indefatigable labor of Dr. SEARS, its originator, editor and largest contributor, are we indebted for a publication in all respects honorable to American literature. Subjects discussed in its pages are treated with comprehensive knowledge and impartial criticism, and whether the judgment of the editor accords with that of the reader or not, none will dispute its candor and fair presentation."

Every man is bound by obligations, which he owes to his family and to society, to leave as a heritage to those who come after him, some substantial result of his years of living and labor.

# PHOENIX MUTUAL Life Insurance Company,

HARTFORD, CONN.

Jan. 1, 1873.

Policies Issued, 1872, 10,527. Income, 1872, \$3,413,752.45.

The only old Company of consideration that has increased its business in 1872:

**ASSETS**, securely invested. . . . . \$8,209,325.07  
**SURPLUS**, free of all liabilities. . . . . 1,199,831.50  
**DIVIDENDS**, paid to Policy-holders during the year 943,441.71  
**INCOME**, for the year. . . . . 3,413,752.45  
**LOSSES**, paid during the year. . . . . \$31,116.32

## Comparison of the Business of 1871 and 1872.

	Policies Issued.	Income.	Dividends Paid Policy-Holders.	Losses By Death.	Net Assets.
1871, . .	10,039	\$9,135,736.14	\$663,654.22	\$652,590.57	\$7,356,967.28
1872, . .	10,527	3,413,752.45	943,441.71	31,116.32	8,209,325.07

An increase which affords most convincing proof of the growing and well-merited favor with which the Company is regarded by insurers.

The following table exhibits the progress of the Company during the last ten years:

	Policies Issued.	Income.	Dividends Paid Policy-Holders.	Losses By Death.	Assets.
1862 and 63,	1,717	\$125,672.00	\$1,244.00	\$58,600.00	\$437,933.00
1864 and 65,	6,599	789,733.00	2,388.00	117,200.00	903,285.00
1866 and 67,	9,919	2,027,651.00	50,222.00	196,050.00	2,218,344.00
1868 and 69,	16,852	4,363,812.00	461,716.00	502,544.00	5,081,975.00
1870 and 71,	19,105	5,963,392.00	1,162,412.00	1,153,056.00	7,510,614.00

An examination of the above figures shows that the Company is a progressive one, that it guarantees ample security to its Policy-holders, and that it affords Insurance at the lowest rates. It appears, also, that within the last ten years it has paid to its policy holders, in Dividends, nearly *Two Million Seven Hundred Thousand Dollars*, and in losses by death nearly *THREE MILLION DOLLARS*, and at the same time it has greatly increased its Assets, as well as maintained a large surplus over all liabilities.

Since the commencement of its business the Company has issued over *Seventy-two Thousand Policies*, and has paid to the families of its deceased members nearly *THREE AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS*.

J. F. BURNS, Sec'y.

E. FESSENDEN, Pres't.

No institution could, by any possibility, have attained such enormous growth unless it had taken deep root in a great public necessity, and found its support in public confidence.

AGE AND SUCCESS ARE THE SUREST GUARANTEES OF THE PERPETUITY OF A COMPANY.

THAT IS THE BEST COMPANY IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF THE POLICY-HOLDERS ARE ONE WITH ITS OWN.

"ABSOLUTELY THE BEST PROTECTION AGAINST FIRE."

# THE BABCOCK

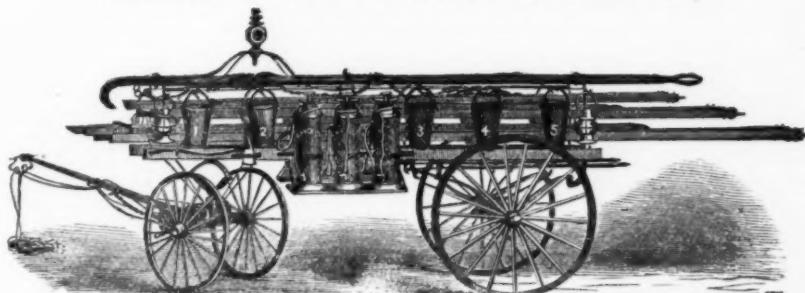


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SELF-ACTING



## FIRE EXTINGUISHERS,



## HOOK & LADDER TRUCKS,

ENGINES,



ENGINES,

In daily use by the Fire Departments of the principal cities of the Union. The Government has adopted them. The leading Railways use them.

*Send for "Their Record."*

78 Market Street, Chicago.

407 Broadway, New York.

F. W. FARWELL,

Secretary.



GET THE BEST.

## WEBSTER'S UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY.

10,000 Words and Meanings not in other Dictionaries.

3000 Engravings.

1840 Pages Quarto.

Price \$12.

A National Standard. The authority in the Government Printing Office at Washington.

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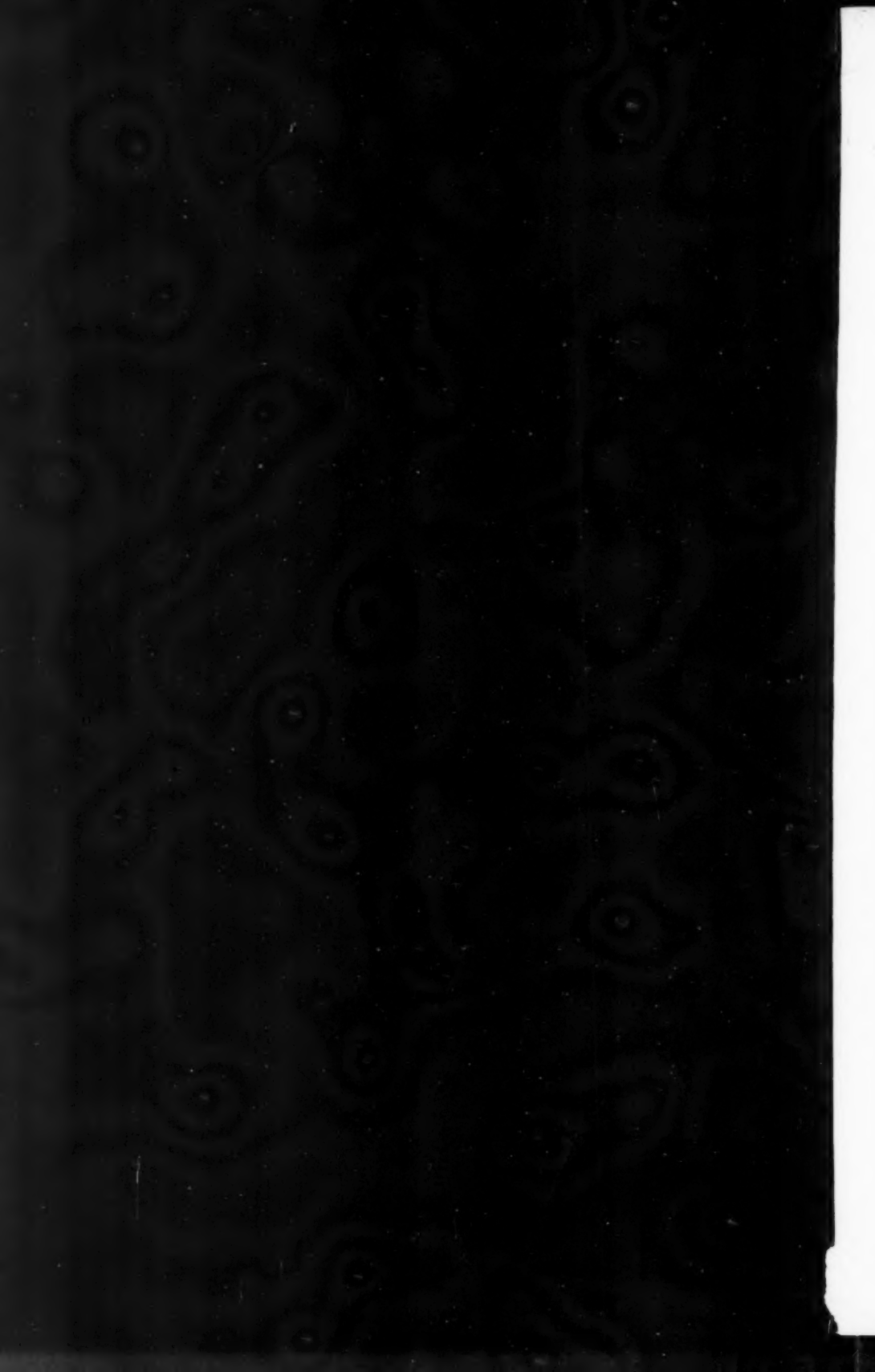
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### To Contributors.

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